



John Gwennap,
Falmouth.



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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SIEGES AND BATTLES,
By SEA and LAND.

CONTAINING,
A Particular and Circumstantial Account
Of the most remarkable
Battles and Sieges, Bombardments and
Expeditions,

In different Ages and Parts of the World;
And particularly, such as relate to
GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies.

Including,
Anecdotes of the Lives. Military and Naval
Transactions, of all the celebrated Admirals,
Generals, Captains, &c. who have distinguish-
ed themselves in the Service of their Country.

In which will be explained,
The MILITARY and NAVAL Terms of Art .
Embellished with

PLANS of the Battles, and HEADS of the Illustrious
Persons, mentioned in the Course of the Work.

VOL. VII. 3.^d of the Modern Part.

L O N D O N :

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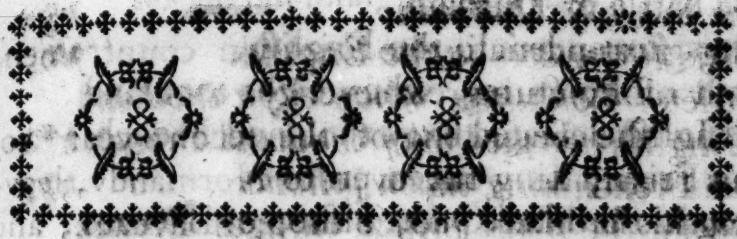
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A
GENERAL HISTORY
O F
SIEGES AND BATTLES.



CHAP. I.
*Of the wars of England during the times
of the Normans.*

HAVING in the close of the fifth
volume related the battle of Hast-
ings, by which William the Nor-
man gained the crown of England,
I shall now proceed to give an ac-
count of the wars which happened in his
reign, and those of his two sons.

The English were very happy during the
first three months of king William's reign,
but he soon after changed his conduct, show-
ing

ing great partiality to his own countrymen, and ruling with great severity.

In the beginning of the second year* of his reign, he went over to Normandy, leaving his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeaux, and William Fitz-Osborn, regents, who greatly oppressed the English. The people of Kent were so provoked at their tyranny, that they determined to revolt. But king William having taken along with him the chief of the English nobility, that they might attempt nothing to his prejudice in his absence, the Kentish men agreed to call into their assistance Eustace, earl of Boulogne, who had been a great soldier, and was at this time at variance with the king. They proposed to make him their head, and to assist him in surprising Dover castle. They were so prudent in their negotiation, and so faithful to one another, that the government had not the least intimation of their proceedings. Eustace accepted of the proposal, and sailed, unnoticed by the Normans, in the night, to the English coast, landed, and made a vigorous attack upon the castle of Dover, in two places at once. Though the assault was sudden and unexpected, yet the Normans made a brave resistance, and were so bold as to throw open their gates, and sallying out at both

* Year of Christ, 1067.

quarters, where they were attacked, fell furiously on the besiegers, not yet joined by the English, obliged Eustace and his party to fly to their ships, and forced the other division to the brow of a rock, where most of them perished, either by the steepness of the rock, or the swords of the Normans; thus ended this attempt, which served only to strengthen the power of the government, and to increase the rigour of it. However, this affair, together with the insurrection of the English in Herefordshire, under Erderic, called the Forester, who cruelly treated all the Normans that fell into his hands; hastened the king's return to England, though it was now the depth of winter*.

The next year, the city of Exeter refused to receive a Norman garrison, and had recourse to arms, but the king laying close siege to the city, they were obliged to capitulate, upon having their lives and effects granted them. In order to prevent a like event for the the future, and keep that part of the country in awe, the king ordered a citadel to be built. This insurrection was followed by another in the North, at the head of which, were the earls Edwin and Morcar, assisted by the Welsh. But the king promising to pardon

* December, 1067.

4. *Wars of England during the*
the leaders, the whole affair dropt. The
next year * the Scots marched into England,
and surpris'd Durham by night, and put the
governor and all the garrison, consisting of
seven hundred men, to the sword. At the same
time, two hundred and forty sail of Danish
ships arriv'd, with land forces on board, in
the Humber, to attempt the recovery of the
kingdom of England. This expedition was
commanded by Osbern, brother to Swain,
king of Denmark, with his sons Harold and
Canute. These having join'd the Scots, and
disaffected English, directed their march to-
wards York. The Norman garrison not be-
ing strong enough to march out and oppose
the invaders, retir'd into the castle, and in
order to prevent the enemy's lodging them-
selves in the out-houses, set fire to them,
which unhappily reaching the town, burnt it
down to the ground, as also the cathedral.
The castle was afterwards taken by storm,
when the Danes put most of the garrison,
consisting of three thousand men, to the
sword. King William was so greatly alarm-
ed at these proceedings, that he did all he
could to recover the favour of his English
subjects, promised to restore their ancient
laws, recalled some of the banished nobility,
restored others to their liberties and estates,

* Year of Christ, 1069.

and found means to bribe the Danish general, to desert the English and Scots, and return home. He then besieged the city of York, in which was a garison of English and Scots, under earl Waltheof, the governor, who made a noble defence. But as both the Scots and Danes were returned home, he thought it prudent to capitulate upon the honourable terms allowed him: and indeed the conqueror, either from the good opinion he had conceived of his bravery, or out of policy, gave him the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon, and his niece in marriage. He afterwards led his army towards Durham, destroying all the country in his march, with fire and sword for sixty miles together. He made so great a devastation, that there was not one house left standing, between the two cities of York and Durham*.

The next year†, the English made a general insurrection, and suddenly called a number of troops from different parts. King William was so alarmed at this, being without troops, that he desired a conference, and swore upon the gospels, that he would re-establish the ancient Saxon laws, upon which

* The fields lay uncultivated for nine, or ten years after, which produced a famine in that country.

† Year of Christ, 1070.

they dispersed; but the king wickedly broke his oath. This occasioned another rebellion, the next year, when a body of English fortified the isle of Ely, being joined by several considerable persons, both lay and clergy; but, after a brave defence, were betrayed by the monks of the island. The king treated the prisoners he took with great cruelty, for he ordered the eyes of some to be put out, others had their hands cut off, and many were imprisoned. The king of Scotland, took the opportunity of these troubles, to invade the northern countries, which he ravaged in a cruel manner.

As soon therefore as William had settled matters at Ely, he resolved to return the visit, in the same manner, and the more so, as he considered Scotland the chief assylum of his enemies. He accordingly* led his army into the country of Galway, but only harrassed his troops to no purpose; for the enemy, by retiring into mountains, bogs, and other fastnesses, escaped him, and very often annoyed him from their ambuscades. Finding the enemy too cunning for him, he determined to attack Malcolm in the very heart of his dominions, and accordingly marched to Lothian; where finding a proper place to draw up his army, he did so. By this time

* Polydore Virgil.

he was met by Malcolm, at the head of another army, who, seeing the king, was prepared to fight him, kept himself upon the defensive, and proposed to make a peace with him, to which William agreed, upon Malcolm's swearing homage to him.

Just at this time, Philip, king of France, grown jealous of the power to which William was arrived; invaded his Norman dominions*; upon this, William hastened over to the continent with an English army; but before he arrived there, Philip had taken Mans, and the province of Main had revolted. However William, having strengthened his army with a body of Normans, soon recovered both places. He treated the rebels with great severity, and obliged the king of France to conclude a peace with him.

To pass over less commotions, some time † after William's return to England, his eldest son, Robert, made an insurrection into Normandy, and was promised assistance by the king of France. The young prince besieged Roan; bravely defended by the governor; whilst William was getting ready an army of English to relieve it. Robert, not thinking his forces sufficient to carry on a siege, and resist an attack at the same time, retired towards the confines of Upper Normandy.

* Year of Christ, 1073. † Year of Christ, 1074.

Where, by the assistance of the French king, and of the Normans, and private supplies that he received from his mother Matilda, he maintained his ground, and made several successful inroads into his father's dominions. But the king at last, marching against him, and straitened him so much, that the prince obliged to the king of France, for a place to secure himself against his father's resentment. He accordingly retreated before him, with his army to Gerberot, in the Beauvoisis. King William prepared to besiege him; but Robert, thinking it a disgrace to be shut up within the walls of a town, with such an army as he had, marched out and gave his father battle, when an obstinate and bloody engagement ensued. William, perhaps never exerted himself so much as now, being ashamed at the thoughts of being conquered by his own son. He was in close armour, and distinguished only by his extraordinary valour, and the numbers he killed; Robert observing this, and not knowing him to be his father, fought to encounter him preferable to any other, as the most worthy object to try his own valour against. Having got up to him, he engaged him hand to hand, and a noble contest ensued. When Robert, with his lance, killed his father's horse, and dismounted him; but no sooner did he perceive the fallen hero to be his own father, than the duty of the son prevailed over the ambition of

of the rebel, and he, instantly quitting his horse, flew to his father's assistance, and removed him from the field of battle, and, tho' himself the conqueror, accepted a peace from his father upon his own terms, expressing his concern for having rebelled against him. William took Robert with him to England, under a pretence of sending him against the Scots. And indeed upon his arrival, did send him at the head of an army towards the north the next year; but a peace being concluded soon after, no considerable action happened †. He then † marched against the Welsh, who had made fresh incursions into England; but they soon submitted, and agreed to pay an annual tribute to the crown of England.

Peace now ensued for some time, till at last it was interrupted by an ill-timed jest of Philip king of France. William, who at this time was at Roan, being very corpulent, and under a course of physic, the French king, who had changed his dread of him into contempt, said, scoffingly, of him, "Our brother of England, is gone to lay his great

† Prince Robert in his return, founded the town of Newcastle upon Tyne; and about the same time, the tower of London was built by his father, and other fortresses.

† Year of Christ, 1080.

belly at Roan, and I doubt I must be at the charge of setting up lights at his uprising †." William being told of this, it is said, swore, "He would save him the charge of setting up lights, for he would offer in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, ten thousand lances, by way of wax-lights." Accordingly, being recovered from his illness, in August following, he put himself at the head of a great army, and marching into France, destroyed the corn and fruits, burnt down several towns and churches, and committed very great devastations, that he might the sooner fulfil his vow. The city of Mants, in particular, suffered greatly from his fury, for having taken it, he set it, and all the churches in it, on fire, and sat himself on horseback to see his orders punctually executed. But being too near the fire, the heat greatly disordered him; upon which, as he was riding to a greater distance, his horse fell into a ditch, which he attempted to jump over. In the fall, he bruised the rim of his belly against the pommel of his saddle, and contracted at once, a rupture and a fever, which proved fatal to him. The prospect of his approaching end, brought upon his mind a strong, and affecting, sense of his

† Alluding to the women's custom of offering lighted candles on their first going abroad after lying-in.

great sins of oppression, injustice, and breach of his oath, and put him upon making some reparation. He ordered his treasures to be distributed among those who had suffered by him, particularly among the clergy; ordered several prisoners of consequence to be set at liberty; bequeathed the dukedom of Normandy to his eldest son, Robert, England to his third son, William, and only five thousand marks to his youngest son, Henry; Richard his second son, was killed in New Forrest. He afterwards ordered himself to be removed to the village of Hermentrude, on the river Seine, opposite Roan; where he soon after died*, having reigned in England twenty one years. He was succeeded in the throne of England by his son William II. surnamed Rufus, from his being red haired.

The year after this prince came to the crown, his rough haughty temper, giving a general disgust, a conspiracy was formed against him by the Normans, in favour of his eldest brother Robert, whom they invited to come over, but before he could arrive, the conspirators appeared in arms, and took several fortresses; which they held for Robert. Some of the disaffected, possessed themselves of Bath and Bristol, whilst other Norman lords, having drawn the Welsh together, laid waste the

* September 9. 1087.

country of Worcester with fire and sword. There was another party in Kent, commanded by their earl, bishop Odo. As this party was more considerable than the others, the king himself marched against them with an army of English, and, to prevent a descent from Normandy, sent his fleet into the English channel. The king's first attempt was upon Rochester, where he supposed Odo was, but found the place too well provided to be taken by surprise, nor was Odo there, but at another of his castles, called Pevensey. He therefore marched on to Tunbridge, another of Odo's forts. The garrison here, which was well fortified, refusing to surrender, the English immediately assaulted it; and the besieged made a vigorous defence, but surrendered at last; upon which the king destroyed the fort. He afterwards led his army to Pevensey, where Odo had shut himself up, and waited for the expected succours from Normandy, promised them by Robert. But being disappointed from day to day, and many of the garrison dying by sickness and famine, he at last surrendered Pevensey; the conditions were, that the garrison should leave the kingdom, and never return but by the king's command; and that Odo should remain prisoner, and deliver up to Rufus the castle of Rochester. Odo accordingly set out for Rochester with some of the king's officers, to deliver it up to them. When they came before

fore the place the king's officers demanded the gates to be opened, the bishop made a shew of joining with them in the summons, but the garrison, either secretly corresponded with the bishop, or supposing him compelled to do what he did, suddenly issued out, and took the bishop and the king's officers prisoners.

The place being very strong, and well provided, he concluded he should not be able to take it by assault, he therefore issued a proclamation, that every one who would not be deemed a *nithung* †, should immediately join him. This soon brought a great number of English to his standard, who abhorred that imputation. The castle and town were closely invested, and the latter being taken, the besieged retired to the town, which being thereby greatly crouded, soon brought on a sickness, which proving mortal, the garrison offered to surrender, and take an oath of allegiance to king William. He seemed at first averse to their proposal, but at last permitted them to march out with their horses and arms, but confiscated their estates. Odo, with the other nobility, went over to France, where he was appointed lieutenant of Normandy, by prince Robert. Upon this, the disaffected in other

† That is, a coward.

parts of England laid down their arms, and obtained a pardon.

The king elated by his late success, determined to gratify at once his ambition and revenge, by the conquest of Normandy †. He soon raised a fleet and army, and landed at St. Walleric, which the governor, whom he had before bribed, basely surrendered to him; as did also the governor of Albemarle, from the same motive. Several other fortresses were also given up to him; in consequence of which, he became master of almost all Normandy, on the north of the Seine. Prince Henry, the younger brother, fortified Cherburg, Avranches, Constance, and other places, belonging to himself, and being favoured by many of the nobility, they soon raised a considerable number of forces, which served as a kind of a flying army. With these they opposed William's invasion; this Henry did, declaring for neither of his brothers. William by this time was nearly master of all Normandy, partly by his gold, and partly by his sword. And Robert was so greatly straitened, that he had no other resource, than to seek the assistance of the French king, who marched with an army to his relief, and both together, laid siege to one of the castles which had been betrayed to Wil-

† Year of Christ, 1090.

liam; but he had the address to bribe even Philip himself, and induce him to an inglorious retreat. Robert thus deserted, had only Roan remaining, part even of which was in the interest of William, who by his gold, had obtained from the rest a promise, of the surrender of the city.

Robert getting intelligence of this conspiracy, acquainted his brother Henry with it, who sensible that his own ruin must follow that of his brother's, determined to act in concert with him, against William their common enemy. The troops that Henry brought arrived but just time enough to prevent the loss of Roan. This junction of the two brothers, soon brought about a temporary peace between William and the latter. For the next year, we find William invaded Normandy again, to relieve the castle of Curcy, then besieged by Robert, and to complete the conquest of that dukedom, when Robert offered him such advantageous terms of peace, that he readily accepted of them. By this treaty duke Robert ceded to the king, the country of Eu, the towns of Fetchamp, and Karsburgh †, with some others, besides the abbey of mount St. Michael; the king on his part, was to assist Robert in reducing the

† Now Cherbourg.

county

county of Maine, and all his Norman rebels. Henry's interest being wholly neglected in this treaty, he betook himself to St Michael's mount, and shut himself up with some of his soldiers, and from thence made several successful sallies. In the mean time, peace between the duke and king, was signed by some of their respective noblemen, after which the two brother's had an interview at Roan. They agreed to reduce their brother Henry; in the fort of St. Michael; they blocked it up so closely, that no supplies from the continent should be got into it. Henry made a brave defence, and the combined army suffered much without effecting any thing considerable.

As the king was one day riding abroad unattended by any person, he, before he was aware, fell in with a party of Henry's men. Presuming upon his own strength, which was proportioned to his courage, he disdained tho' in his power, a retreat, thinking himself invincible, by a small number of men; and therefore spurring his horse, advanced up to them. But he was soon sensible of his folly; for a trooper, no way his inferior in bravery, had the good fortune mortally to wound his horse, at the first encounter. The beast in the fury of his pain, dragged the king a long way on the ground by the foot, but he happily received no great hurt from this accident, but was very near losing his life by the trooper who pursued him, and had his sword ready
lifted

lifted to dispatch him, when William hastily cried out, "Hold fellow, I am the king of England." This struck the whole party with awe, and, lifting the king up with great reverence, they remounted him on another horse, when finding himself safe, he looked earnestly round, and with some vehemence cried out, "Where is the man who dismounted me?" None was bold enough to reply, till the gallant trooper himself coming forward, bravely answered, "It was I Sir; I took you not for a king, but for a common man." "Then," replied the king with a smile, "you are mine from this day forth; under me you shall serve, and be rewarded for your merit."

I shall mention another incident that happened during this siege between the two brothers, Henry and Robert, which shows the generosity of the latter. The besieged being very greatly distressed for want of water, Henry, who knew the generous disposition of his brother, and how capable of compassion, sent to remonstrate to him on the impiety of depriving him of the common gift of nature, and how unworthy of a hero, to win by engrossing an element, what he ought to owe to his courage only. Robert was touched with this remonstrance, and ordering the guards to slacken the blockade, gave Henry an opportunity of laying in what quantity of water he pleased.

As

As to the siege, William being disgusted with the tediousness of the blockade, and suspecting a correspondence between his two brother's, and other circumstances concurring, he left his brother Robert to continue the siege, to whom the place soon after surrendered upon honourable terms for Henry and his men.

The same year * the two brothers, William and Robert, with their joint forces, invaded Scotland, supported by the English fleet, But a storm arising, the fleet was dispersed, and the season being very severe, the land forces which were exposed to it in the mountains suffered greatly, and the campaign ended in a peace concluded by the mediation of prince Edgar; who was now retaken into favour by the king and the duke †. But Malcolm, the king of Scotland, coming soon after ‡ to Gloucester, to settle some articles in the late treaty of peace, was refused admittance into the king's presence, unless he

* Year of Christ, 1091.

† The country of Glamorgan, was the ensuing year, 1092, forced out of the hand of Rees, prince of South-Wales, by that valiant knight, Robert Fitz-Hammond, and reduced under the dominion of the English.

‡ Year of Christ, 1093.

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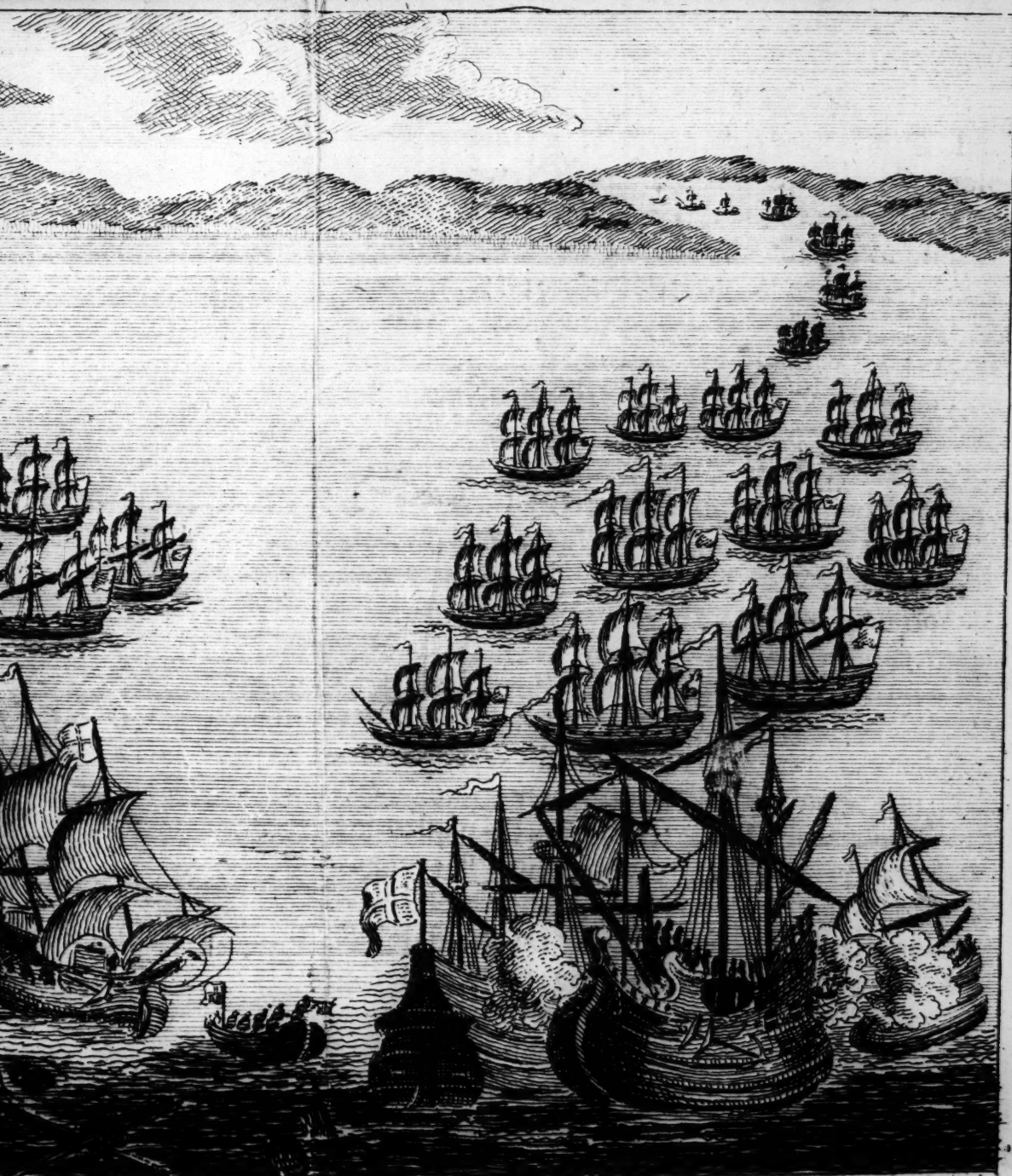
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A View of the Spanish Armada and the Engl



the English Fleet off the Start Point, Plymouth 1588

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would do him homage in the city*. But Malcolm refused to do so any where but upon the borders of the two kingdoms, and being greatly enraged at the rude demand, hastened back into his own country. The next year he led an army into the North of England and advanced as far as Alnwick; but being there surprised by Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, a battle ensued, in which Malcolm and his son Edward was killed, and the whole army entirely defeated.

King William refusing to fulfil the treaty with Robert his brother, another war broke out† between them in Normandy. The latter was assisted by the French king, as usual, and had, at the first, the advantage. Upon this, William ordered twenty thousand fresh troops to be raised in England. But whilst they lay at Hastings, expecting to embark for Normandy, notice was given to the soldiers, that as many of them as could pay ten shillings a piece, should be discharged. Most of them accepted of the offer, and with the money, thus raised, William bribed the French king to abandon Robert, who was now likely to suffer greatly, but, happily for him, an insurrection among the Welsh obliged William to return to England, the latter end of the year.

* Buchanan.

† Year of Christ, 1094.

The

The beginning of the next year * the king raised a great army and marched for Wales †, but the Welsh, taking advantage of their situation, kept close in their fastnesses, from whence he could by no means force them. They often made sudden sallies, and harrassed and cut off many of his troops, and in the end, obliged him to make a shameful retreat. Two years † afterwards, the king made great preparations for reducing North-Wales, but having penetrated through the country, and lost a great many men in his attempt, without being able to bring the inhabitants to a decisive battle, he returned to England, having erected some fortresses on the marches, to prevent the future incursions of the Welsh. Soon after he sent prince Edgar Atheling into Scotland, who deposed Donald, and placed his nephew, prince Edgar, the eldest surviving son of Malcolm, upon the throne.

Whilst king William was busy in Normandy, reducing the city of Mants, and the district belonging to it; Owen, a Welsh lord, father-in-law to Griffith and Cadogan, kings of Wales, having received some affront from them,

* Year of Christ, 1095.

† In his way thither, he rebuilt the castle of Montgomery, which the Welsh had demolished.

† Year of Christ, 1097, the year after this, Westminster-hall was built.

in

in order to revenge it, engaged the earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, to attempt the reduction of the country, under the dominion of the English, promising himself to assist. The two kings not having a sufficient force to defend themselves; on the approach of the earls, were obliged to fly to Ireland. In the mean time, the invaders penetrated as far as the isle of Anglesey, making a dreadful devastation as they marched. But here they met with an unexpected enemy; for Magnus, king of Norway, having taken the Isle of Man, made a descent on that of Anglesey, when a battle ensued, in which the earl of Shrewsbury was killed. However, the Danes left the English in possession of the island, who appointed Owen governor of it; and thus this insurrection ended.

As William was hunting in New-Forrest, having not long been returned to England, he received advice that his late conquest in France, the city of Mants, was retaken by Hely, count de la Fleche, and that the castle was so closely pressed, that it would be obliged to surrender, if not speedily relieved. Whereupon, he ordered the messenger to acquaint the governor, he should be relieved in eight days. Then, with his usual vivacity, he asked his attendants how the castle of Mants stood from the place he was then upon? Being shown, he turned his horse's head, and rode directly to the sea-coast.

Those

Those who were with him, intreated him to wait till the necessary preparations were made for the expedition. But he only replied, "let those who love me, follow me." Dartmouth was the next sea-port town; when he came thither, the weather was tempestuous, and the sea very rough, and only a crazy vessel in the port. He ordered the master of it to put to sea immediately, who, representing the inevitable danger of the voyage, the king replied, "set sail; didst thou ever hear of a king who was drowned?" None daring to remonstrate further, they set sail, and arrived safe the next morning at Barfleure, in France. He immediately drew together such troops as were in the neighbourhood, and marched with that expedition to Mants, that the enemy surpris'd at this prodigious dispatch, rais'd the siege, after a few skirmishes, and made a hasty retreat. The count de la Flesche, who was taken prisoner, being brought in the king's presence, the latter reproach'd him with much bitterness. This provok'd the earl to reply to the king, "That he had but little cause for triumph, for an advantage owing not to valour, but to fortune. Were I but at liberty once more," continued he, "I know what I should do." William, seemingly glad of this opportunity to make a retaliation for having insulted this brave man; "And what would you do, Sir," said he, "were you at liberty? haste! be gone! fly!"

fly! you are at liberty to do what you will; and by the face of St. Luke," his common oath, continued he, "if ever it shall be your chance to conquer me, I shall demand nothing for this favour*."

William returned to England about the end of September, and was preparing a great army, and fitting out a fleet to reduce both the dutchies of Normandy and Guienne, under the dominion of the crown of England, but in the mean time while he was hunting in New-Forrest, he was accidentally killed by an arrow the second of August †. Robert his eldest brother being engaged in the war carrying on in the Holy Land, his younger brother Henry, promising to restore the clergy to their rights, and govern the people by their ancient Saxon laws, prevailed on them to acknowledge him for their sovereign. He was accordingly crowned at Westminster, three days after the decease of the king his brother, by the title of Henry I.

But before I proceed to relate the wars of this prince, I shall give the reader an account of a great event that happened on the continent the beginning of the late king's reign ‡; and the rather, because the consequences of it were great, with regard to our nation, as

* Malmſbury. † Year of Chriſt, 1100.

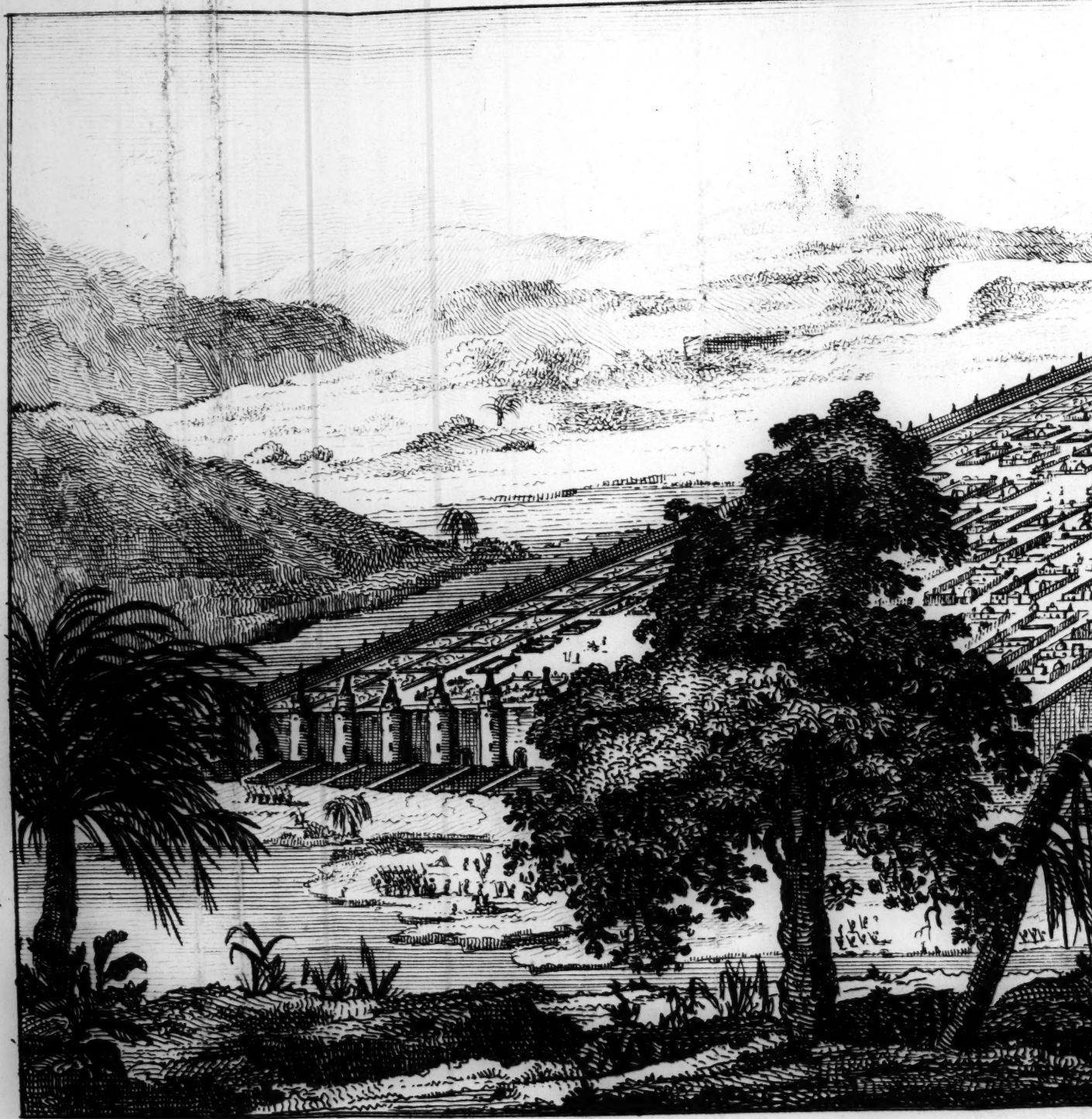
‡ Year of Chriſt, 1096,

well as to others. I mean the first Crusado or Holy war, as it is called, for the recovery of the Holy-land. It took its rise in this manner*: Peter, an hermit, a weak man, but a warm enthusiast, a native of Amiens in Piccardy, about the year 1093, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places there. Where, observing the miserable condition of the Christians in Asia, Syria, and Palestine, at that time mostly possessed by the Turks, and the cruel usage they met with from those infidels, on account of their religion, he began to deliberate, first with himself, and afterwards with Simon, then patriarch of Jerusalem, about the means of rescuing them from the tyranny under which they groaned.

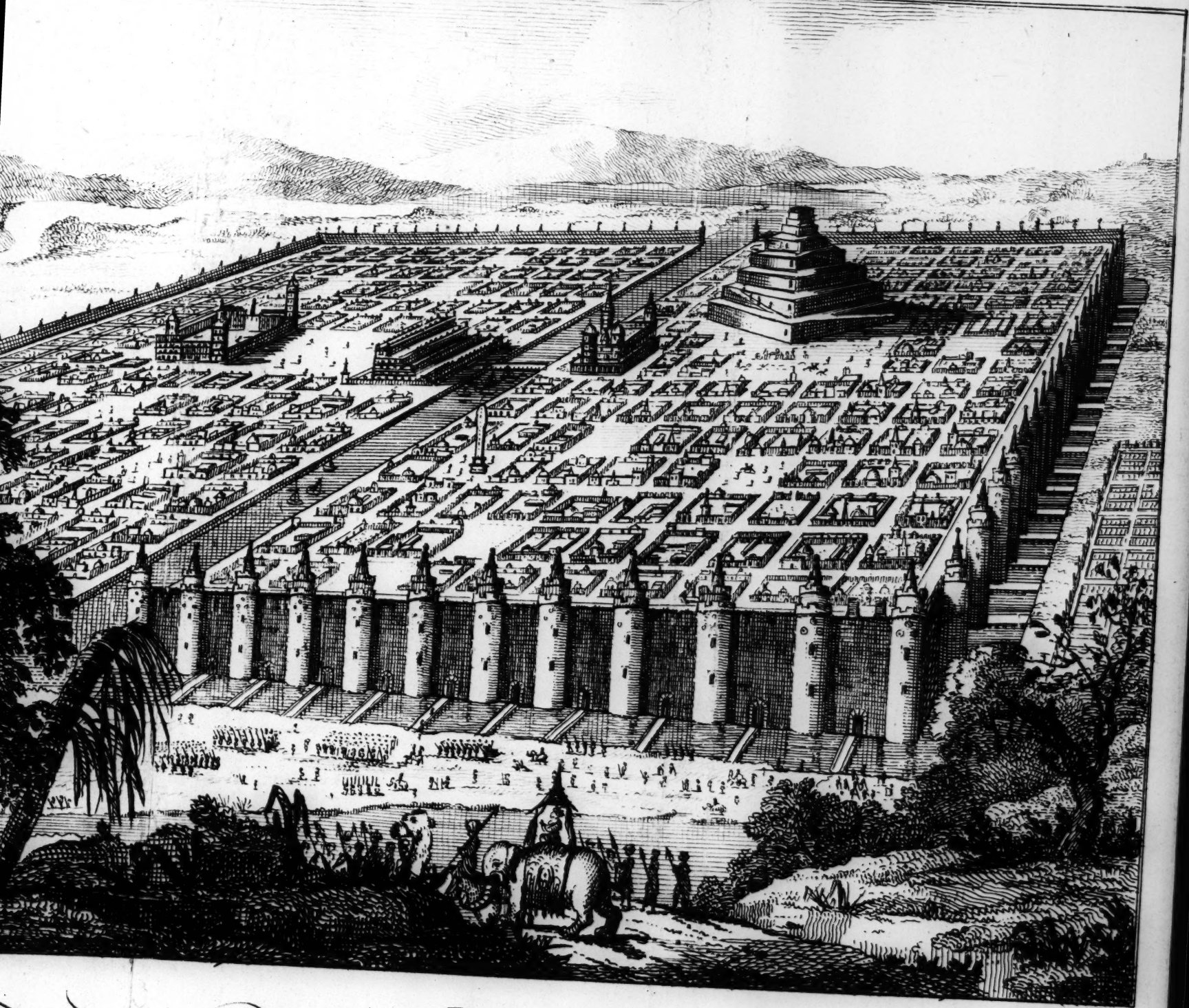
The eastern empire was in too weak a condition to hope for any assistance from thence. Peter therefore resolved to apply to the western princes, and endeavour by all pos-

† The badge of those who engaged in this war, was a red cross on the shoulders of the upper garment, from whence they obtained the name of the *Croises*, or the *crossed*; and the expedition was called a *Crusade*, or *Crusado*; the motto *Deus vult*, *God will have it so*; the occasion of taking which motto, the reader will presently be acquainted with.

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able means to unite them in a league against the common enemy, for the relief of the unhappy Christians, and the recovery of the holy land.

Accordingly, having received pressing letters from the patriarch, and the grand master of the hospitalers, to that purpose, for the pope, and all the Christian princes in the west, he took upon himself to be messenger; and embarking on the first ship he met, he arrived at Bari in Puglia, and proceeding from thence to Rome, he delivered the letters to pope Urban II. giving him at the same time an account of the inexpressible miseries the Christians suffered under the Turkish yoke, of which he himself had been an eye-witness.

Having received all the encouragement he could wish for from the pope, he applied to the other princes; and travelling from kingdom to kingdom, inspired both princes and people with the pious and commendable desire of relieving the oppressed Christians, and rescuing the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. The pope, informed of this general disposition, summoned a council at Clermont in France, where three hundred and ten bishops met, and likewise the ambassadors of Christian princes*; to whom Peter the

† Year of Christ, 1095.

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hermit

hermit made an eloquent speech, representing the sufferings of the oppressed Christians, the desolation of the holy places, the cruelty of the Turks, &c. in so lively and affecting a manner, that a religious war was unanimously agreed on, all declaring, as if filled with one spirit, their consent, by often repeating aloud, "Deus vult, Deus vult, God will have it so, God will have it so." Upon the dissolution of the council, the crusade was published by the pope, and generally embraced throughout the west, multitudes flocking together from all parts, with red crosses on their breasts, the mark of their expedition, ready to recover the holy land, and redeem the Christians from the cruel yoke they groaned under, at the expence of their lives. They are supposed in all to have been no fewer than three hundred thousand men, of whom the chief commanders were, Hugh brother to Philip I. king of France, Robert duke of Normandy, Robert earl of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, with his brothers Balwin and Eustace, Stephen de Valois earl of Chartres, Bohemond prince of Tarentum, and Peter the hermit.

To the latter, was given the command of forty thousand men; which army he divided into two bodies, leading one himself, and committing the other to the conduct of Gautier, a native of France, surnamed from his being a foldier of fortune, the Moneyless. Gautier

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Gautier began his march on the eighteenth of March 1096. and passing through Germany, entered Hungary, where the inhabitants refusing to supply him and his army with the necessary provisions, he was forced to plunder the country. Hereupon the Hungarians, falling upon him on his march, killed great numbers of his men, and obliged the rest to save themselves among the woods and marshes, where they lay concealed, and suffered inexpressible miseries, till the prince of Bulgaria, touched with compassion, furnished them with guides, who conducted them to Constantinople, the place of their general rendezvous, where they waited the arrival of Peter, who did not join them till the first of August, being strangely harrassed on his march by the Hungarians, who slew above two thousand of his men, took all their baggage, and two thousand waggons, with the money designed to pay the army. To these hostilities Peter himself gave occasion, by suffering his men to commit all sorts of disorders, under pretence of revenging the cruel treatment, which the army under Gautier had met with from the natives.

Peter having with difficulty reached Constantinople with the remains of his shattered army, was there received, in appearance, with great marks of friendship and kindness by the emperor, Alexius, who, nevertheless, was greatly alarmed at the expedition; for

though he believed the common people might act upon principles of religion, yet he could not persuade himself, that princes would leave their dominions, and engage in so hazardous an undertaking, upon the same motives. However, he supplied Peter's army with all manner of provisions; who thereupon passed the streights, and marching into Bithynia, encamped not far from the city of Nice.

Not long after his departure, the emperor received advice of Godfrey's arrival at Philippopolis, with ten thousand horse, and seventy thousand foot; which gave him no small jealousy, the more, as Godfrey immediately dispatched to him an officer, to demand the liberty, of Hugh, brother to the king of France, who, in his passage from Bari to Dyrrachium, being separated by a storm from the rest of the fleet, had been seized by the governor of the above-mentioned city, and sent to Constantinople, where he was detained prisoner.

As the emperor refused under various pretences, to set his prisoner at liberty, Godfrey, who was already advanced as far as Adrianople, began to act against him as an open enemy, laying waste the country, and marching directly to Constantinople. Hereupon Alexius, not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, complied at length with his demand, promising at the same time to supply his army with pro-

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provisions; which however he neglected to do, and by that neglect provoked Godfrey to such a degree, that he laid waste the whole country to the very gates of Constantinople. Alexius, dreading he might fall upon the imperial city itself, sent ambassadors to treat of an accommodation, offering his own son as an hostage, and promised the provoked prince all possible satisfaction. Godfrey having received the ambassadors in a most obliging manner, and put a stop to all hostilities, the emperor invited him, and the other princes and chief officers of his army into the city, where they were entertained with great magnificence, and entertained in a friendly manner.

After several conferences, and warm disputes, the following agreement was at length concluded between them and Alexius; that, during the expedition, the emperor should assist them with all his forces, supply them with arms, provisions, and other necessaries, and treat them on all occasions as his friends and allies. On the other hand, the princes were to restore to the empire such provinces and cities as they should recover out of the hands of the Turks and Saracens. Soon after, the other princes arrived by different ways, at the head of powerful armies, and were all received by the emperor with the greatest marks of esteem and affection. After a short stay at Constantinople, the forces passed the Bosphorus, and

encamped near Chalcedon, with a design to advance from thence to Nice, and lay siege to that important city.

While Godfrey and the other princes were yet on their march, the army commanded by Peter the hermit, which had entered Bithynia, as we have observed above, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Nice, began to mutiny; and deposing Gautier, advanced Raymond, a German commander of great prowess, in his room. After this, the Germans and Italians, separating from the French, encamped apart. A strong party of the Italians, having made themselves masters of a town called Xerigordus, were there surprised by the Turks, and put to the sword. The French, who lay encamped near Helenopolis and Cibolus, two villages of the gulf of Nicomedia, were, by the Turkish commander in those parts, drawn into an ambuscade, and mostly either cut off, or taken prisoners; so that of the forty thousand men commanded by Peter, scarce three thousand were left, who, with him, took refuge in Cinite; which place they defended till the arrival of Godfrey, and the other princes of the crusade, with whom they marched to Nice; which city was invested by the Christian princes in the month of May, 1097. As the place had

† Year of Christ, 1097.

been

been strongly fortified by Solyman, then sultan of the Turks, who had chosen it for the seat of his empire, and was defended by a numerous garrison, the siege lasted several weeks; during which time, both the Christians and Turks gave many signal instances of their intrepidity and resolution. Solyman, who had posted himself with a numerous army among the neighbouring mountains, attempted twice to raise the siege; but was as often repulsed with much slaughter. However, the besieged continued to defend the place with great courage and resolution, till the emperor Alexius, who assisted in person at the enterprize, having caused a great number of small vessels to be fitted out, cut off the communication, which, by means of the lake Ascanius, the city maintained with the neighbouring country.

The garrison being thus deprived of the constant supplies they received, both of men and provisions, and at the same time privately solicited by the emperor, with mighty promises, to surrender the place, not to the western princes, but to him, they submitted at length, and, on the fifth of July, delivered up the city to his lieutenant, by name Butumites. Among the many captives taken on this occasion, were Solyman's wife and two children, who were immediately sent to Constantinople. After the reduction of Nice, the princes, taking their leave of the emperor,

or, of whom they now entertained great distrust, bent their march towards Syria, having first divided the army into two bodies, for the convenience of forage and subsistence. Bohemond, who marched the first, was suddenly attacked by Solyman, at the head of sixty thousand Turks, and would, in all likelihood, have been put to flight, had not Hugh come seasonably to his relief with thirty thousand men: who, falling upon the enemy, cut forty thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take shelter among the neighbouring mountains. This victory was attended with the surrender of Antioch in Pisidia, of Iconium in Cilicia, Heraclea, and several other places. The Christian princes, animated with this success, bound themselves by an oath not to return, till they had rescued the holy city of Jerusalem out of the hands of the infidels. Accordingly, having passed mount Taurus, they made themselves masters of the cities of Maresia and Artasia; and marching from the latter, but fifteen miles distant from Antioch, they encamped before that famous metropolis on the twenty-fifth of October 1097.

As the place was strongly fortified, and garrisoned with seven thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, the siege lasted to the third of June, when one Pyrrhus, who had, in appearance, embraced the Mahomedan superstition to save his estate, and was entrusted

trusted with the defence of a tower, called the Two Sisters, betrayed the city to Bohemond, whose men entering it in the night, opened the gates to the rest of the army; who, falling upon the Turks before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, cut them off almost to a man. Cassianus the governor, with some others, found means to make his escape out of the place; but fell soon after into the hands of the Armenian Christians, by whom he was slain. While the Christians were engaged in the siege of Antioch, Corbenus, one of the sultan of Persia's generals, attacked Edeffa with a mighty army; but Baldwin, to whom the place had submitted some months before, gave him such a warm reception, that he abandoned the enterprise, and marched to the relief of Antioch. Being informed on his march the city was taken, he resolved nevertheless to venture a battle, in hopes of recovering it; but received a total overthrow, having lost, as we are told, an hundred thousand, partly killed, and partly taken prisoners; whereas of the Christians only four thousand two hundred were slain. This memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh of June 1098, and the next day the Turks despairing of relief, submitted, and were made prisoners.

The Christians thus become masters of Antioch, chose, with one consent, Bohemond prince of that metropolis, not thinking them-

selves bound by the late treaty, since Alexius had, contrary to that agreement, under various pretences, declined lending them the least assistance.

From Antioch these heroes marched to Jerusalem, which they invested; though it is said their numbers were so diminished that they did not amount to fifty thousand men, and that the garrison in the town was as numerous. But a fleet of English, Normans, Flemmings, and Genoese, happily arrived at this time with supplies, which gave new spirits to the Christian army, and now making a vigorous assault upon the outward wall, carried it sword in hand. At another, which lasted from break of day to noon, the besiegers began to faint and give way. But the famous Godfrey of Bouillon, encouraged them, with an assurance of success; pretending he had seen an horseman descending from the clouds and that heaven fought on their side. This so animated the troops, that they bore down all before them, and took the town by storm.

Being thus masters of the place, they all unanimously agreed that Godfrey, who had so nobly distinguished himself by his bravery, and conduct through the whole expedition, should be crowned king of Jerusalem. He afterwards made Ptolemais, Cæsarea, Antipatris, Askelon, and some other cities, tributary to him. But he did not live to enjoy his kingdom above one year; when his brother

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ther Baldwin succeeded him. The news of the taking of Jerusalem encouraged many Christians to come to him, from time to time, to take the cross upon them, by whose assistance he conquered several other cities, and provinces, and considerably enlarged his dominions.

I shall now quit this, I hope not unenter-
taining, digression to relate the wars that hap-
pened during the reign of Henry I*. who, as
I have already said, succeeded his brother,
William II. in the throne of England †. The
new king governed with prudence for the
first year; and every thing went on peace-
ably. But the next year, Robert being re-
turned from the Holy war to his dominions
in Normandy, was greatly displeased at his
brother Henry's having taken the crown of
England in wrong of him. He therefore got
together an army and a fleet, to come over to
England, and to assert his right. However,
Henry upon his arrival, his force not being
sufficient to effect his design, and not daring
to confide in his barons, both thought it best
to conclude a treaty with each other, rather
than hazard a battle. The Welsh rebelled the
next year ‡, but were soon suppressed, when

* Year of Christ, 1100.

† He was born in England after his father be-
came king of it.

‡ Year of Christ, 1102.

Henry reduced the castles of Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Arundel, and some other fortresses.

Henry, who had secretly formed a design of adding Normandy to his crown, at last found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his design. Some of his nobles who had fled into Normandy, and had fallen upon the lands that belonged to the king, or some of his subjects; upon this the Norman nobility, finding duke Robert unwilling, or unable, to protect them, applied to king Henry for help. The king soon raised a powerful army, with which he sailed for Normandy †; where his money was of as much, or more, service than his arms, for he was so successful in bribing the nobility and governors, that great part of the dutchy revolted to him. The summer being over, he returned to England for more money and men.

The next year, the king embarked with another powerful army, accompanied by the principal nobility of the kingdom. He began first with the siege of Tinchebray, a town belonging to the earl of Mortaign; but the place was so well defended, that he was obliged to change the siege into a blockade. He then built a fort and left some soldiers in

† Year of Christ, 1105.

it; which the earl of Montaign soon after took by surprise; who having put the garrison to the sword, relieved the town. Henry was so exasperated at this, that he determined to take the town in defiance of the allies, and therefore once more besieged it with his whole army. Montaign was so resolutely bent on saving the town, that he used every argument to persuade Robert and his confederate to risk a battle, rather than suffer the town to be taken. A place of meeting being appointed, the confederate forces met, and then marched against the king. Henry had taken care not to be surprised, and was well prepared to receive them. A smart engagement ensued, before the town, which ended in favour of the king, who entirely routed the combined forces of the enemy, of whom four hundred knights, and ten thousand foot, were taken prisoners; among whom were several Norman barons, the duke of Normandy himself, and Edgar Atheling. The duke he ordered over prisoner to England, but gave Edgar his liberty. The consequence of this battle was that Henry became entire master of Normandy.

The king remained in the quiet possession of his dominions, at home and abroad for some time, but at last †, Fulk earl of Anjou,

† Year of Christ, 1112.

assisted

assisted by Elias earl of Maine, fell upon the frontiers of Normandy, and took Constance; upon this the king went over, took the earl of Maine prisoner, and put him to death; but Godfrey earl of Gaunt, the earl of Maine's son-in-law, kept possession of Constance, in opposition to the whole force of Henry. As the earl was secretly supported by the French king, he kept on the war till their differences were made up † by Henry's son, William marrying the earl of Anjou's daughter.

But the year after, Henry was so greatly disturbed by the incursions of the Welsh who frequently entered into the English territories, and made terrible devastations, that he swore he would extirpate every Welshman in North Wales. He accordingly got together a large army, divided into three bodies. With these he entered Wales †, and destroying all before him with fire and sword, obliged them to acquiesce to such conditions as he thought fit to impose upon them.

The French king according to custom, continued sometimes secretly to assist the male contents in Normandy, this obliged Henry to go over there from time to time, when he generally soon settled matters to his satisfaction; but the French having made some

† Year of Christ, 1113. † Year of Christ, 1114.
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fresh disturbances there, he seemed so indifferent about it that his friends could not help remonstrating upon it to him, and king Lewis of France, even dropt some insolent speeches against him; to the former he answered, that he had learned a maxim from his father, which was, to suffer the French to spend their first fire, and then they could be easily dealt with. Soon after, when he knew that Lewis had lost his main support, and that he attacked him chiefly in confidence of his meeting with little resistance; he determined to give him battle. His army consisted of three bodies; the van was composed of his chief nobility, who served on horseback, with their military tenants; the main battle was led by himself, at the head of his guards and household troops; and the rear, on which he chiefly depended, was composed of English foot, led by two brave Englishmen, his own natural sons †. Lewis, that he might secure his

† A prodigious alteration, says Mr. Guthrie*, had happened by this time, in the manner of making war, from what it was forty, or fifty, years before. The expeditions into the Holy Land, had drained Europe of its best and bravest youths, those who returned, brought back with

* Guthrie, hist. of England.

his interest among the Normans, treated the young prince William, son of Robert, prisoner in England, with great respect, appointed him the next in command under himself, and ordered him to march towards Andely, upon the river Seine, intending himself in case of a

them a spirit of adventuring, which soon degenerated into knight-errantry, and gave rise to all the romantic incidents of that and the following age. As every man looked upon himself as a hero, their courage was too independent of military discipline, for their effecting great conquests, or winning bloody victories. In short, they aimed rather to show their address in arms, than their contempt of danger. This led them to cloath themselves with impenetrable armour, which disabled them from using those deadly weapons, which did so much execution at the time of the Norman invasion. The ponderous mace, the stubborn bow, and yard-long-arrow, were now exchanged for pikes and lances, which falling upon close armour, or directed without the force of an engine, gave but fortuitous wounds. Bows and arrows indeed, were retained amongst infantry; but not the same deadly kind as formerly, their force being but slight, and their execution ineffectual. From these causes it happened, that we meet with so many bloodless battles, and so many maiden fields; not but that many brave men still lived, who fought in the old way, and many bloody encounters happened.

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battle to come up to his assistance with the main body.

William being informed that his uncle, king Henry, was advanced to the plain of Brenville, marched with a great detachment to give him battle. He at the same time sent an account to the king of France of his uncle's approach, whilst himself prepared for a general engagement. The French army was composed of two lines, the first, as already said, commanded by the prince of Normandy, consisting of the chief of the Norman and French nobility; who all served on horseback. The second, composed of French infantry and that of the allies under the command of Lewis. The charge was begun by William, at the head of the French squadrons, with so much vigour, that the first line of Henry's army was soon broke thro', which, as it consisted of cavalry, threw the second into disorder, where Henry commanded. The French pressing close upon him, he was forced to the dreadful necessity of making head against his friends as well as foes. Yet the king with his usual courage, kept his ground, and rallied his men, though not without the utmost danger of his life. For in the height of the battle, when the French had the advantage, a Norman nobleman named William de Crispin, in the interest of Robert, boldly forced his way up to Henry, hoping to decide the fate

fate of the day by the death of the king. He accordingly attacked Henry with so much fury, that he owed his safety to his helmet, being twice struck on the head with so much violence, that though his helmet prevented his head from being pierced, yet the shock was so great that the blood issued plentifully from his head. Henry yet retained his usual coolness, and watching his opportunity, so well timed a blow at his assailant, that he levelled him and his horse with the ground, and the valiant Crispin was taken prisoner. Notwithstanding the great bravery of Henry, his household troops suffered much, for Lewis advancing with his second line, so effectually supported the advantage gained by William, that the Normans of Henry's party were in danger of yielding, or being cut to pieces; when the English exerting their utmost hastened to the assistance of their king. Victory had hitherto inclined to the French; but though they had now to engage with fewer enemies, yet they found they were such as were not to be conquered, and the French unable to stand before our brave ancestors, were entirely routed, and forced to fly. Many noblemen, and a great many others, were taken prisoners, and thus Henry returned a conqueror to Roan. The French standard was taken by one of Henry's knights, from whom he redeemed it for twenty marks.

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Prince William, though he lost the victory, gained no little honour from his gallant and noble behaviour during the important action of the day.

Lewis returned to Paris greatly chagrined, and soon formed a scheme to invade Normandy again. Almeric de Montfort, earl of Evereux, went to Lewis, and advised him to order all his parish priests, throughout his kingdom, to threaten those who were fit to bear arms with excommunication, if they did not attend the king in the next expedition against the Normans. This had the desired effect, and a great army was quickly raised. Lewis accordingly entering Normandy †, committed great ravages, and laid siege to the important town of Breteuil, defended for king Henry, by Ralph Guader. Who, presumed so much upon the courage of his men, and the strength of the place, that he even neglected to shut the gates of the city, and made several successful sallies upon the besiegers, notwithstanding they were superior in number.

Henry, as he knew the place must surrender, ordered Richard, his natural son, to draw near it, with a party of three thousand men to its relief, whilst he himself prepared

† Year of Christ, 1119.

to support him with the main army. Guader in the mean time, found it difficult to preserve the place, as the inhabitants were not well attached to Henry, he therefore went from post to post, changing his armour, for fear of being singled out by the enemy. Guader so effectually animated his men that they held out till Richard had an opportunity of getting his detachment into the town. This so dispirited the besiegers, that as soon as Henry came up with the main body of his army, they precipitately raised the siege, and made an inglorious retreat to their own country.

However, William de Chaumont, son-in-law to Lewis, being willing to do something before they entered into winter-quarters, laid siege to Tilyers, a frontier garrison, but without success, or honour, for Gilbert the commander of the place, made a sally upon the besiegers, routed them, and took several of them prisoners, and Chaumont himself. The Normans upon hearing of this were struck with a panic, and many of them returned to their allegiance to Henry.

Lewis highly exasperated at his bad success, and finding his arms were useless to him, had recourse to other means. He applied to a council, and the Pope's mediation, but Henry by his money, brought the pope over to approve of his conduct, and to be of his

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party, and a peace was concluded † at Gisors, between the two kings, and Henry returned to England, but his son prince William, and Richard following him, were shipwrecked and perished, with many of the nobility. Soon after the king's return, the Welsh under the son of Griffith prince of North Wales, made fresh incursions into the English borders, especially on the side of Cheshire, where they expected but little resistance, as the earl of that country was dead. They surprised several forts, and put some of the inhabitants to the sword, and made a large booty. Henry therefore immediately marched with an army, to chastise them, and advanced as far as the passes of Swowden hill. Being one day on his march towards a certain place ‡, he came to two roads; one plain and broad, but a good way about; the other, narrow and uneven, but more direct. He ordered his army to keep the plain road, whilst he and his attendants pursued the other. By then he was got some way on it, he found the pass was guarded by the Welsh, and himself shut up between two mountains, without the least possibility of his army coming to his assistance. The Welsh fell furiously upon his attendants, killed some of them, and the king was in eminent danger of being killed, or

† Year of Christ, 1120.

‡ Guthrie.

taken

taken prisoner. He had like to have been wounded in his breast, by an arrow, but his breast-plate happily repelled it. The king finding himself in this strait, thought he had no other way to save himself, than by coming to a treaty with the enemy. He therefore sent to demand a parly. This was granted, and, upon a conference, a peace was concluded; and the prince of Wales, probably thinking that the royal army was near at hand, even consented to make his submissions, gave hostages for his future good behaviour, and presented the king with a thousand head of cattle.

Not long after, new troubles arose† in Normandy, where the people not satisfied with the government of the king of England, designed to revolt, and make William, son of Robert, duke of Normandy. Henry being apprised of their disaffection, appeared suddenly among them with a considerable army that he had transported from England, besieged and took the castle of Pont Andomar, and reinforced the garrisons of Roan, Caen, and other fortresses. But Robert earl of Mellant, and Hugh earl of Montfort, and others, who were joined with them, entered Normandy, and destroyed the country with fire and sword. However they were soon drawn into an ambuscade by

† Year of Christ, 1123.

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William, earl of Tankerville, lord-chamberlain, and lieutenant of that province, and taken prisoners; whereby this insurrection was put an end to.

A few years after, Henry, being resolved to revenge himself upon the French king for having supported the interest of his nephew William, invaded France, and obliged Lewis to withdraw his troops out of Normandy. He also encouraged Theodoric, landgrave of Alsatia, to dispute the title of earl of Flanders with William; upon which several towns revolted from prince William. But the latter, having besieged Alost, and defeated the Langrave's army brought to the relief of it, the castle was upon the point of surrendering, when he was wounded by a lance in the wrist, which proved his death in a few days; and thus Henry was delivered from a formidable opponent. Henry continued from this time in peace, till the year 1135, when he died of a surfeit, occasioned by eating of lamprey's, at Lyons near Roan.

Upon his death, Stephen earl of Bulloign, a third son of Adela, the late king's sister, and grandson of William I. usurped † the throne.

† Year of Christ, 1128.

† For the late king Henry had a daughter named Matilda, or Maud, who he married to the emperor Henry V. who dying, she was again married

throne of England. In the very first year of his reign, the king having refused a favour to Baldwin Redvers, earl of Devon; he revolted, and put a garrison into the castle of Exeter. Stephen, to suppress this insurrection, marched with an army composed of English and Flemings, and besieged Exeter, which made a brave and obstinate defence, but was taken at last, and the earl and his family were banished. As the Welsh had, upon the king's accession, committed great ravages in the English marches, Stephen led his army from Exeter against them; but his men being seized with a sudden panic, he was defeated, and many of his men tamely surrendered themselves to the rebels. However, Henry appears to have had men enough left for another expedition; for we find, that notwithstanding this late defeat, David king of Scotland having invaded England, Henry marched against him †, but of this war, few, or no, particulars remain; we are only told that the Scots took the cities of Carlisle and Newcastle. A peace being afterwards concluded upon these conditions, that the Scots

married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, by whom she had a son named Henry, who was nearer the crown than Stephen; but who did not reign till after him.

† Year of Christ, 1135.

should

should keep Carlisle, and that Henry, the son of king David, should have the earldom of Huntingdon, upon doing homage to king Stephen, which the father had honestly refused to hold upon that condition, as he had sworn to the succession of the empress \S Maud, the late Henry of England's daughter. But David obliged himself, by oath, never more to interfere in the quarrel between Stephen and Maud.

To pass over the less warlike events of this king's reign, a strong, and very general, party arose in favour of the empress Maud *, which gave birth to a cruel civil war; in which the bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, was one who opposed him, as the empress had promised him the disposal of all church preferments. Maud ventured over to England, with her brother the earl of Gloucester, with so small a guard as an hundred and forty men. The earl of Gloucester left her at Arundel-castle, where she landed, and was entertained by Adelisa, the queen-dowager;

\S This conduct of king David was a strong reproof of that of king Stephen, who, in the lifetime of king Henry, was the first person who swore allegiance to the empress Maud; yet, after the death of Henry, supplanted her in the throne of England,

* Year of Christ 1139.

• VOL. VII.

D

whilst

whilst he, with a very small retinue, went to Bristol.

Stephen was at this time besieging Marlborough-castle, but, as soon as he heard that the empress was landed, he abandoned that enterprise; and hastening to Arundel, so closely invested the castle, that none could escape out of it; but, by the interposition of the queen, he permitted the empress to retire to Bristol; fearing, perhaps, the place might be relieved before he could take it. Two months afterwards the empress removed to Gloucester, and found means in a little time to engage almost all the West in her favour. The king's troops were a motley host, composed of Flemmings, Normans, and Britons, who made dreadful devastations, sparing neither friend, nor foe.

This terrible war, which armed relation against relation, might indeed have been soon terminated in favour of the empress, had not her haughty temper and dislike of the clergy too soon appeared; by which she lost their interest, and particularly that of the bishop of Winchester, who now began to fear that he might be involved in the same ruin with his brother. In order, therefore, to recover the king's favour, he delivered up to him, as prisoners, several of the rebel lords, whom he had invited to an entertainment and seized upon. This was a good change for Stephen, and enabled him to lay siege to the castle of Wallingford;

Wallingford; in which were the empress, and the earl of Gloucester. But not being able to carry on the siege, he changed it into a blockade, and invested Malmesbury. This gave an opportunity to the empress and the earl to escape secretly out of Wallingford, and the town of Worcester was soon after taken by the latter, as was that of Nottingham by some of his party. Stephen marching to Lincoln, where the empress was, she abandoned the place, which was soon taken possession of by the king's troops, but quitted it immediately, as being of little consequence, since the empress had got away. But receiving advice that the earl of Gloucester had entered Lincoln, he returned back; yet not so quick but that the earl had got away first. However, his wife and children were very near being taken, who, upon the king's blocking up the place, had retired into the castle, had not the earl of Gloucester, assisted by Randulph, hastened there*. As their approach was unexpected, the king, his forces being inferior in number, was not able to retreat. Being a good general, he disposed matters tolerably well; and, having spirited up his men, engaged the enemy on foot, at the head of his infantry, and sustained the at-

* Year of Christ 1141.

tack with great bravery. But was ill second-
ed by his horse, who were chiefly foreigners;
for they abandoning his foot, his whole army
was routed, and he himself, as he scorned to
fly, was almost left alone. It is said he even
refused to surrender after his battle-axe was
broken to pieces; and was taken prisoner by
mere violence, and confined in Bristol-castle,
by the command of the empress, and at last
laid in irons.

The empress Maud was acknowledged
queen by most of the English; and Normandy
submitted to the earl of Anjou her husband.
However London, and Kent, still continued
firm to the king, where his queen, Eustace
his son, and William de Ypres, who com-
manded the foreigners, had yet a consider-
able force. The treacherous bishop of Win-
chester again entered into the interest of the
empress queen, and the Londoners at last de-
clared for her. However, happily for the
king the queen's imperious temper again pre-
judiced her friends against her, particularly
the Londoners, to whom she refused to restore
the laws of Edward, and she disoblged the
bishop of Winchester, who once more be-
came her enemy. He induced the citizens of
London to declare against her, and to at-
tempt to seize upon her person, but she escap-
ing, put herself at the head of her troops,
and joined her brother, the earl of Glou-
cester,

cester, and marched towards Winchester, with David king of Scotland, who had declared for her.

The bishop of Winchester, whom she in vain endeavoured to recover, united with the barons of the king's party, and having a superior force to the empress, marched to Winchester, at whose approach the empress, and earl Robert retired into the castle. The king's army set the town on fire, burnt above twenty churches and convents, and the greatest part of the town. The castle was besieged next, which though the garrison was numerous, yet being well stored with provisions, it held out for two months, when they made a sally, and attempted to fight their way through the enemy. By this means the queen, and many others made their escape; but the earl of Gloucester, who was in the rear, was taken prisoner and carried to Rochester.

The empress at last got to Gloucester, and the earl of that place was exchanged for king Stephen. The earl afterwards went over to Normandy, to the earl of Anjou for a reinforcement, who sent over some recruits, with his son prince Henry, to assist the empress who was now besieged in Oxford. Here she was very near being made prisoner, but taking the advantage of a snowy night, she, and a few of her servants, clothed in white, got out at a postern, passed the centinels undis-

covered, and, going over hedge and ditch, through bye ways, walked five miles, to Abington, where taking horse, she escaped safe to Wallingford. Hither the earl of Gloucester, who had besieged the castle of Warham, in hopes of drawing Stephen from the siege of Oxford, came to the empress, bringing with him her son, prince Henry.

At this period § our historians fail us, and we are told little more than that the empress was at last † forced out of the kingdom, and that the nation in general submitted to Stephen, as did many of the barons who swore to the succession of his son Eustace.

Another civil war had like to have arisen between prince Henry, son of the empress, and king Stephen, but was suspended by a truce, renewed from time to time, and at last terminated in a peace §, upon the death of prince Eustace, when it was agreed that Henry should succeed to the crown of England upon the death of king Stephen, which happened soon after; he was buried in the abbey of Faversham, which he had founded.

Before I conclude this chapter, I shall give a short account of another Crusado undertaken in the reign of king Stephen. During the disputes between the empress Maud and

† Year of Christ, 1142. † Year of Christ, 1147.

§ Year of Christ, 1153.

Stephen,

Stephen, as already related, Lewis VII. of France, being free from those contests which usually subsisted between England and France, thought it a proper opportunity to engage in a crusado to the holy land, being joined therein by Conrad emperor of Germany. It was now forty years since the Christians had made themselves masters of the Holy Land, and the parts adjacent, which they formed into four considerable states†. But the princes who governed them unhappily falling out among themselves, Sanguin, Sultan of Aleppo, first, and then his son, Noradin, took the opportunity to wrest the greatest parts of their conquests from them. This occasioned the king of Jerusalem, and the prince of Antioch, to send to the European princes for their assistance, and brought on a second Crusado.

The emperor being first, began his march* in Easter; his army consisted of one hundred thousand men: seventy thousand of whom were horsemen armed back and breast. At

† 1. Viz. Edessa, comprehending the countries on the banks of the Euphrates; 2. the district of Tripoli, situate near the sea; 3. the district of Antioch; and lastly, the kingdom of Jerusalem.

* Year of Christ, 1147.

his arrival on the frontiers of the Grecian empire, he was but ill received by the subjects of the emperor Manuel Commenius. They not only refused to furnish Conrad's troops with provisions, except at very unreasonable rates, but even cut off the stragglers of his army. In some places the disputes were so warm, that they were near coming to battle. Manuel at last supplied the German emperor with ships, to transport his army over the Hellespont, but supplied him with false guides, who led them into ambuscades, and in fact betrayed them into the hands of the Mahometans; insomuch that after they had passed over most part of the Lesser Asia, and suffered inconceivable hardships, Conrad was obliged to turn back to the Hellespont, with scarce the fourth part of his troops. Here he had the happiness to meet the French king with as large an army as he himself first had. The emperor advised the king to continue his march along the sea coasts, to prevent his being surrounded by the Mahometans.

The French king observed his caution, passing by Smyrna, and Ephesus, but finding the mouths of the river very difficult to pass, he changed his course, and marched into the inland country. But as all the passes were in the possession of the Turks, most part of his army was cut off by them. The king with a few of his lords, escaped to Antioch. He afterwards went to pay his devotions at Jerusalem,

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salem, and then returned to France. The emperor also, privately visited our Saviour's sepulchre, before his return to Germany, and thus ended this second Crusado; with the loss of many men, and much treasure.



CH A P. II.

Of the wars of England under the Plantagenets †.

ON the demise of king Stephen, prince Henry II †. succeeded, without opposition, to the crown of England §. The first war

† The name of Plantagenet, is said to be composed of the words, *Planta-gēnesta*, or broom-plant.

‡ He was the son of Maud, the daughter of Henry I. of England, by her second husband Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou : her first husband was the emperor Henry V.

§ This king was possessed of half the kingdom of France, viz. the province of Normandy, Anjou, Poictou, Guienne, or Aquitain, Sain-

war which happened in this king's reign, was begun by the Welsh, who watched every opportunity to quit their own barren mountains, for the fruitful countries of England. This was the case now †, upon which, king Henry marched in person against them. The Welsh, as was their usual custom, retreated into their mountains, and other inaccessible parts of the country. However, the van of the king's followed them, but unhappily fell into an ambuscade, and a great part of them were cut off. This threw the English army into the utmost confusion, and Henry de Essex, hereditary standard bearer, was so greatly intimidated, that he flung down the royal standard, and run away, declaring the king himself was killed. But Henry soon after appearing, gave his men fresh spirits, renewed the attack with so much bravery and success, that the Welsh were glad to treat with the king, and concluded peace on his own conditions. They gave up several castles, that defended the principal passes, and the nobility submitted to do homage, and swear fealty to the king. After this Henry ordered ways to be cut thro'

Maine, and Touraine; having the largest dominions of any king that ever sat on the English throne before him.

† Year of Christ, 1157.

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the woods, that his armies might, upon any future occasions, have a ready passage through them. The reduction of Ireland which happened in this king's reign, claims a place in this work. Henry had from the very commencement of his reign, formed a design upon Ireland*, as a country easy to subdue, and that would be of great advantage to him when conquered. Accordingly to the superstitious custom of these times, the king applied to the pope † for his licence, who granted him a bull, for the conquest of Ireland.

Henry

* Besides the fair pretences Henry had, if not a real title ‖, to Ireland, "he had a just cause of war against the Irish, (says Mr. Cox †) because of the pyracies and outrages they daily committed against his subjects, and the barbarous cruelties they exercised on the English, whensoever they fell into their power, buying and selling them as slaves, usurping Turkish tyranny over their bodies, so that the Irish themselves afterwards confessed, that it was just their land should be transferred to a nation they had so cruelly handled."

† This was Adrian IV. an Englishman; a succeeding pope, Alexander III. granted a

‖ Speed, 472. Spencer's View, 33. Campaign, 26, 28.

† Hist. of Ireland.

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the woods, that his armies might, upon any future occasions, have a ready passage through them. The reduction of Ireland which happened in this king's reign, claims a place in this work. Henry had from the very commencement of his reign, formed a design upon Ireland *, as a country easy to subdue, and that would be of great advantage to him when conquered. Accordingly to the superstitious custom of these times, the king applied to the pope † for his licence, who granted him a bull, for the conquest of Ireland.

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pion, 26, 28.

† Hist. of Ireland.

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Henry at length found a favourable opportunity to carry his intentions upon Ireland*, into execution†. Dermond Mac Murrough king of Leinster, having forced O'Neale, earl of Tyrone, O'Mlaghalin, and O'Carol, baron of Ely, to give him hostages, grew so insolent upon these successes, that he became oppressive to his subjects and tributaries, and after many disasters, was forced to quit his country. He fled the next year to England, and applied to Henry for protection and assistance, to whom, having sworn allegiance, the king gave him a patent to authorise the subjects of England to assist him. Dermond by this means prevailed upon many to help him, particularly Richard earl of Chepstow, commonly called Strongbow, who promised to assist him, with the king's leave, the ensuing spring. In the mean time, Dermond returned to Ireland. The next year his friends in England, began to move for him, and about May, Robert Fitz-Stephens, arrived at the Ban, a small creek in the county of

Breve, to confirm the former Bull. Dr. Hamer's, chronicle of Ireland. 141.

* Ireland was at this time (year of Christ 1168.) divided into seven states, or principalities, viz. Ulster, Conaught, Cork, Leinster, Ossory, Meath and Limeric.

† Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

Wexford,

Wexford, with thirty gentlemen, sixty men in jacks, and three hundred choice archers, and pikemen in three ships. These were followed by Maurice of Pendergraft, ten gentlemen, and more archers in two barks. Strongbow sent Hervey of Mountmaurice, to get information of the true state of the country.

The English encamped the first night by the sea-side, and marched the next day, towards Wexford, where they were met by Daniel, Dermond's natural son, with five hundred men, and Dermond himself soon after arrived, to whom many of his subjects again revolted. The two armies united and marched to Wexford. Upon their approach, the inhabitants made a sally, but when they saw the armour, barbed horses, and other warlike furniture of the English, they were so frightened, that they retreated, but boldly defended their walls, having burnt their suburbs and neighbouring villages. They bravely resisted the first attack of Fitz-Stephen, and killed eighty of his men. This so exasperated the English, that resolving to conquer or die, they burnt their ships, made public prayers in the camp, and then prepared for a second assault. But by the mediation of some bishops, a capitulation was accepted of, and on the fourth day the town surrendered, which, together with two cantreds, adjoining

adjoining, was given to Fitz-Stephens, and Fitz-Gerald, as had been before agreed †.

Dermond, king of Leinster, engaged the English to undertake the conquest of Ossory next. And he could not be blamed for so doing; for the prince of that country was his bitterest enemy, he had formerly imprisoned Dermond's son, and, being jealous of him, had put out both his eyes, which proved his death. Accordingly the army, consisting of three thousand Irish, besides English, invaded Upper Ossory.

This country being very full of bogs, and woods, was easy to be defended, and the prince of it, did not neglect this precaution, but Fitz Stephens pretending a flight, the Ossorians pursued him, and when he had brought them into the plain, he faced about, and charged them so briskly, that they were routed; and above three hundred of them killed. Their heads were brought to Dermond, who betrayed a savage revengeful temper, by biting away the nose and lips of one of them, against whom he had a mortal ha-

† Dermond to oblige the earl of Chepstow, gave two cantreds, situate between Wexford and Waterford, to Henry of Mount-Maurice; who, with the above-mentioned, settled the first English colony on these lands, which have continued through all ages, to this day.

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tred. By this defeat, and the inroads, and
dissolation, they made in the country, the
prince of Ossory was forced to submit, swear
fealty, and give hostages to the king of
Leinster.

The conquerors afterwards invaded and
burnt up, and preyed upon, the country of
O'Phelan, and that of O'Tools, as far as
to Glandelagh, with little, or no, resist-
ance.

In the mean time, Rotheric, monarch of
Ireland, alarmed at the progress of the Eng-
lish, called a parliament, or assembly, of the
princes of the country, who immediately de-
termined to attack the king of Leinster, and
drive out the invaders; they accordingly
united their forces, and invaded a part of
Leinster, called O'Kenfile. Dermond, un-
able himself to oppose them, called upon Fitz
Stephens, who readily assented to espouse
his cause. In the mean time, Dermond re-
treated to an inaccessible fastness near Ferns,
where by plashing of trees, and making in-
trenchments he effectually secured himself;
but at length a peace was concluded between
them; a secret article of which was that
Dermond, as soon as he was settled in his
kingdom, should dismiss the English, and
give his son Cothurne, as a hostage for the
performance, who as soon as the English
were gone home, was to be married to Ro-
theric's sister.

By

By the time things were thus settled, Maurice Fitz-Gerald landed at Waxford, with ten knights, twenty esquires, and one hundred archers; with these Dermond marched to reduce the rebellious city of Dublin, which soon surrendered upon articles, renewed their oaths of allegiance, and gave hostages. Dermond encouraged by this and other successes, formed a design to recover the monarchy of Ireland, and endeavoured to induce Strongbow to assist him, who hereupon having solicited Henry to give him leave to seek new territories in Ireland, and to restore him his old estate in England; the king, wearied with his importunities, passionately replied, "I wish you were gone," which the earl construing into a licence, prepared for his Irish expedition.

He first sent over Reymond Le Gros, with ten knights, forty esquires, and eighty archers, who landed in May following †, at Dondowrough, eight miles east of Waterford; where they entrencht themselves as well as they could. But the Waxfordians and their neighbours, in all three thousand, commanded by Mac-Kelan, prince of O'Phelan, and O'Rian of O'Drone, came down by land and water, attacked the English and beat Reymond back into his intrenchment.

† Year of Christ, 1171.

This defeat did but make the English more desperate, and they made a second sally, and, the enemy being carelessly scattered about, killed five hundred of them, and, by the advice of Hervey, drowned seventy principal citizens whom they had taken prisoners.

In August † following, Strongbow himself landed in the haven of Waterford, accompanied by two hundred knights, and above one thousand soldiers. He was immediately joined by the king of Leinster, Fitz-Stephens, Fitz-Gerald, and Raymond le Gros, who was appointed to the chief command. The next day they assaulted Waterford both by land and water, but were twice repulsed, when Raymond perceiving a cabin on the wall, propt with timber, on the outside, immediately ordered the prop to be cut; upon which the cabin fell, and brought down with it part of the wall. A breach being made by this means in the wall, they entered, and ransacked, the city, and killed every person they found in arms, except O'Philim, prince of Decies, and one Reginald, whom they put in prison.

They soon after marched to Dublin; but were obliged to go through the mountains of Glandelagh, for the Dublin people who had

† The twenty-third day.

rebelled

rebelled again, had rendered the common road impassable, and fixt a guard upon it. The inhabitants were particularly odious to Dermond, because they had murdered his father and buried him, in division with a dog. But the archbishop intreating for them, Dermond entered into a treaty with them; but the time appointed for that purpose being expired, Reymond and Miles Cogan, seized the opportunity, broke into the city, sacked it, and made a great slaughter. The governor, and some of the better sort, with their riches, escaped to sea. Strongbow afterwards, at the desire of Dermond, invaded Meath, and burnt and spoiled it; which so provoked Rotheric, that he put Dermond's son to death, who had been given as a hostage to him.

These victories made king Henry jealous of Strongbow. He therefore forbid sending any thing more to Ireland, and commanded all the English there to return home by the ensuing Easter, on pain of forfeiting of their English estates. In the mean time *, the late governor of Dublin, attempted to retake that city, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded for boasting what he would do the next invasion. Strongbow having taken on him the care of the city of Dublin, upon the

† Year of Christ, 1172.

death

Death of Dermond, was greatly distressed as he could receive no supplies from England. Rotheric who knew the condition he was in, being joined by Gothred, king of the Isle of Man, and the principal persons in Ireland got together thirty ships, and thirty thousand men, and besieged Dublin by sea and land. At the same time, three thousand from Kenilworth and Wexford, besieged Fitz-Stephens in his castle of Carrig, then repairing and beautifying, and reduced him to great extremity. But he with only five gentlemen, and a few soldiers, so bravely repulsed the besiegers, that they despaired of taking the place by force, and therefore had recourse to this wicked stratagem, begun with perjury, and ended with cruelty. They brought the bishops of Wexford and Kildare, a mass book, the host and certain reliques, and swore solemnly by them, that Dublin was taken, and that all the English found in the city had been put to the sword, and that king Rotheric was marching towards them, to put an end to the siege of Carrig, and that they out of regard to Fitz-Stephens, and in consideration of his great valour and generosity, offered him an opportunity to embark with his company on board a ship, that they might escape to Wales, before Rotheric and his enraged army should arrive. The good old honest Englishman, deceived by their perjury, surrendered his castle, when some of his people

people were basely murdered, and himself and the rest put in prison.

In the mean time, Strongbow was reduced to great distress in Dublin; he had not above six hundred soldiers; yet not having any opinion either of the courage or integrity of the Irish, he refused to join with them, or admit any of them into his service, except two, or three. He would have submitted upon reasonable conditions, and offered to hold Leinster of Rotheric, and do him fealty; but Rotheric insisted upon an unconditional surrender. Whilst the English were in a desperate state, the Irish were in security, and indulged themselves in a careless licentious manner. This tempted Strongbow to make an unexpected sally with his little garrison, determined to sell their lives as dear as they could. This bold enterprise was crowned with victory; for so great was the surprise and disorder of the Irish, that being unable to make much resistance, they were soon put to flight, with the loss of one thousand five hundred men.

The next day, Strongbow marched to relieve Fitz-Stephens. Amongst the fastness of the country, at a place called the earls Pace, he was briskly attacked by O'Rian, and his followers; but O'Rian being slain by an arrow, the rest were scattered and many of them slain. Here something similar to Roman manners, happened; Strongbow's

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son, a youth of seventeen, being frightened at the number, and savage howlings of the Irish, run away from the battle. But upon being informed that his father had got the victory, he returned back to congratulate him; when the severe general prevailing over the tender father, he reproached him with cowardice, and ordered him to be put to death by cutting him off in the middle with a sword †. Strongbow being now informed of Fitz-Stephen's misfortune, would have gone to his relief, but that those who had treacherously made him prisoner declared they would kill him if Strongbow pursued them to the island of Begory, or Betherni, whither they had retired, after burning Wexford. Strongbow being now recalled by Henry, returned to England †, and met the king at Newnham, near Gloucester, on his journey to Ireland, with an army. Strongbow was soon reconciled to the king, to whom he made a surrender of Dublin, two cantreds adjoining, and all forts and towns bordering

† The tomb of both father and son, is yet to be seen in the body of Christ-church in Dublin, on which was formerly this epitaph.

“ Nate ingrate, mihi pugnante terga dedisti,

“ Non mihi, sed Gente, regno quoque terga dedisti.”

‡ Year of Christ, 1172.

ON

on the sea, the king permitting him to enjoy all the rest to him and his heirs, to be held of his majesty and his successors. The king continued his march to Milford-haven, where he embarked. In the interim, Dublin was again besieged, but the governor making a sally, defeated the invaders.

The king arrived at Waterford the eighteenth of October †, with four hundred knights, and four thousand soldiers. The people of Wexford were among the first who paid their court to the king, and complimented him with their prisoner Fitz-Stephens, whom the king sharply reprov'd for having invaded Ireland without his licence, and ordered him to be continued a prisoner. This was done to ingratiate himself with the Irish, for he afterwards set him at liberty; but he was first obliged to part with the city of Wexford, and make his humble submission. The clergy, nobility, princes and kings of Ireland, swore fealty to Henry. The king kept his Christmas at Dublin, with as much state as the place would admit, for there was not a house there capable of holding his retinue, and they were obliged to build a long cabin, with smoothed wattles, like a tent. This being furnished with plate, household stuff, and good cheer, made a better appearance than had

† Year of Christ, 1172.

ever been seen in Ireland, before that time, and accordingly was admired and applauded by the Irish potentates, who flocked thither to pay their duty to the king. Whilst king Henry continued here, he received news that his sons were in rebellion, and of the coming of the king's legates, to interdict the kingdom for the murder of Becket. He was also distressed in Ireland by the plague which raged in his army, and by the want of victuals, which now began to be very scarce and dear, so that he was necessitated to hasten to England. Though he was much concerned to leave Ireland in the unsettled condition it was, and without erecting for its future security, the castles and fortresses he had designed. He was also more jealous of Strongbow, and therefore to oppose him he raised several grandees. The king went on board on the morning of Easter-Monday *, and landed at St. David's in Wales the same day at noon, having left Hugh de Lacy chief governor, or lord justice of Ireland; who kept his residence at Dublin.

But Lacy being unable to keep matters in order, Henry was obliged to send for Strongbow † from Normandy, and to give him the

* Year of Christ, 1173.

† Richard earl of Chepstow already mentioned.

kingdom of Ireland. Reymond le Gros was appointed by the king, Strongbow's assistant in the government of Ireland; the latter indeed, to avoid envy and jealousy, would have had him been joined in the commission. The king also gave Strongbow the city of Wexford, and the castle of Wicklow, and sent him to his government.

Strongbow upon his arrival in Ireland, found affairs in great disorder, many of the Irish actually revolted, all united to shake off the English yoke, the army mutinous for want of pay, and Hervey and Reymond, the two generals at variance. He immediately put the army under the conduct of the latter, who led them to O'phaly, where they met with a good booty, and did the same at some other places.

The people of Cork found means to fit out thirty-two barks, and boldly assaulted the English in their boats, but the bows and arrows of the latter prevailed, and the rebels were defeated, and their admiral slain; upon which the English sailed triumphant into Waterford. Dermond Mac Carthy, king of Cork, came by sea to seize on the English boats, if they should happen to be forced on shore. But Reymond met him, and gave him such a brush, that he got a booty of four

thousand cows, and brought them safe to Waterford. Reymond was soon after obliged to quit Munster, and go to Wales to take possession of his inheritance, his father being dead, by this means the command of the army fell to Hervey. This general persuaded Strongbow to an exploit, some where about Cashel, but Donald prince of Ossory surprised them in their march †, and slew four gentlemen, and as many hundred soldiers. This success greatly elevated the Irish, and they took up arms in all parts. Rotheric passed the river Shenin with a very great army, and burnt and ravaged the country as far as Dublin; whilst Strongbow was shut up in Waterford, apprehensive every day of a massacre. He sent to Reymond to hasten to his relief, promising to give him his beautiful sister Basilia to wife. Reymond used all possible expedition, and arrived very opportunely at Waterford, with thirty gentlemen, one hundred horsemen, three hundred archers and footmen. The earl and Reymond directly led their army to Wexford, and thus the former saved his life, for soon after the citizens of Waterford massacred the governor, all the English, men women, and children, except some who saved themselves in Reginald's tower, which they bravely defended, regain-

† Year of Christ, 1175.

ed the city, and forced the citizens to submit upon hard conditions.

Strongbow and his army were at Wexford celebrating the marriage between his daughter * and Reymond, when news came that Rotheric had invaded Leinster. They therefore marched the army next day towards Dublin; but Rotheric retreated upon their approach. The prince of Limeric, however, continued in open defiance, against whom Reymond was obliged to march. The difficulty was to get into Limeric, but one David Walsh swam over the Shenin, into the island of Limeric, and was followed by Reymond and his men, who took the city, plundered it, and leaving a garrison in it, returned. Limeric being again besieged by O'Brian Strongbow sent Reymond to relieve it; but O'Brian, not caring to engage both with the garrison and army, raised the siege, and marched towards Cashel, where he intrenched his camp. But the English fell furiously upon them, entirely routed them, and then marched to Limeric, and relieved the garrison. This brought on a parly, and that new submission, and Daniel prince of Limeric gave hostages, and Rotheric, late monarch

* Her portion was Idrone, Glascarig, Fothard and the constableness of Leinster.

of Ireland, sent Henry his son for an hostage. An agreement was afterward entered into*.

Strongbow died soon after; upon which Raymond held the government of Ireland till the king sent over William Fitz-Adelm †, and Courcy Fitz-Stephens, and Cogan, as his counsellors; he was allowed 20 gentlemen, and they ten a-piece. Sir John de Courcy fought several battles with the Irish; once when the Irish were eleven thousand, and the English not above a tenth of that number. The occasion of it was thus: Sir John de Courcy had built many castles in Ulster, especially in that part called Ferny, where Mac Mahon dwelt, who though he was very observant of Courcy, and had sworn fealty to him, and had so insinuated himself into his favour, that he gave him two castles, with the lands belonging to them. But a month after, Mac Mahon, demolished both the castles, and, being asked his reason for so doing, he replied, "I did not promise to hold stones, but land, and it is contrary to my nature to live within

* Year of Christ 1177. Hanmer's chron. 144.

† He was the king's server, or taster, and the ancestor of the Burks, or Burghs; he was related to the crown, great great grandson of William the conqueror's mother, his great grandfather being half brother to the conqueror.

cold walls when the woods are so near. Courcy was so stung with this slight answer, that determined to revenge the affront, he entered the Ferny, and took so large a prey of cows, that he was obliged to divide them into three droves, for convenience of driving them. The ways were boggy, and so narrow, that the cattle filled the road for three miles together. The Irish observing this, attacked the English with such briskness, noise, and clamour, that forced the cows back, and made them run like devils, upon their drivers, so that they overthrew horse and man, and trod under foot more than were killed by the sword. The consequence was, the English were routed, and although they had slain near four hundred of the Irish, and their general Mac Mahon himself, yet they were forced to fly for their lives, and with difficulty recovered an old fort of Courcy's, where they made shift to secure themselves, although the Irish were encamped very near them. In the dead of the night Sir Armoric took a view of the situation of the Irish, who lay in a negligent manner, most of them asleep, even the guards, as not apprehensive of any danger from a defeated handful of men. This being reported to Courcy, they agreed to make use of this advantage, and, with all their force, fell upon the Irish, and surprised them to such a degree, that they were not able to make the

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least resistance, and were all slain, except two hundred, who made their escape. Of the English, but two were killed in this encounter, and four hundred the day before*.

Fitz-Adelm behaving very ill, the king at last § appointed Hugh de Lacy, lord justice of Ireland in his room. The valiant Courcy having sent to England for victuals, ammunition, and other necessities, the ship on its return being driven by distress of weather into the creek of Torshead, O'Hanlon and his followers came on board the vessel, and murdered all the crew, and seized on the cargo. Courcy, being informed of this, marched with above a thousand men towards the Newry. Receiving intelligence on the way, that the Irish were encamped near Dundalk, to the number of seven thousand, Courcy sent a friar to them, and instructed him to tell them, that there were great forces arrived at Drogheda, from England, and that they were very near them. To make this appear the more probable, the English marched with the greatest show they could make,

* Vivianus, the legate, held a synod at Dublin, in which he published king Henry's title to Ireland, and denounced excommunication against all that should oppose it.

and made a great shout, which so daunted the enemy, that they fled in much confusion towards the river, but the tide being in, many were drowned, and more slain. However, 'O'Hanlon, and the greatest part of his army, got over the river; but the friar guided the English over a ford, so that they came to a second encounter, wherein the Irish were so desperate, that the English were forced to retire, and would have been entirely defeated, had not Sir Amoric arrived timely to their relief, who persuaded them to rally, and make another charge; which they did so briskly, that the Irish were obliged to fly to the Fews, as the English did to Dundalk, and the slaughter was so great on both sides, that neither could boast of a victory.

The king at length growing jealous of Lacy, sent over Philip of Worcester, to be lord justice, or governor, of Ireland, in his room*, and the next year the king sent over his youngest son John, earl of Moreton, then about twelve years old, with a proper attendance. But after the prince had wasted his army in small and unprofitable skirmishes, and had staid eight months, and done no other good than building the castles of Tybvach, Lismore, and Ardfinin, Henry sent for him and his beardless counsellors, and substituted

* Year of Christ, 1184.

in his stead, John de Courcy earl of Ulster, lord lieutenant of Ireland. But nothing further very material occurring with respect to the affairs of this kingdom during the remainder of Henry's reign, I shall return again to England, to speak of what happened there †.

During the absence of Henry, in Ireland, a dreadful conspiracy was formed against him by his queen, and his three eldest sons; the kings of Scotland and France were also of their party, and several powerful earls. But they did not attempt to carry the design in-

† Henry was so well pleased with the conquest of Ireland, that he placed the title of lord of Ireland, in his royal stile, before his hereditary estates of Normandy and Aquitain. And yet Ireland, says judge Cox*, was, at this time, so inconsiderable, or so little improved, that there were not five castles of Irish building in the whole kingdom; Dublin, Cork, and Waterford, were built by the Easterlings; and all the rest have been built since the reduction of Ireland. As to the castles built by the Irish, they were no other than turf, or wattles, plaistered over. The first pile of lime and stone, built in Ireland, was the castle of Tuam, built A. D. 1161, by Rotheric O'Connor, the monarch; and, for the rarity of it, called *Castrum Mirificum*.

* Hist. of Ireland.

to execution till some time after §, while Henry was in Normandy. Henry's three sons, who were in the conspiracy, withdrew to the court of France. Henry being apprised of the plot, sent over orders to England to confine his queen; this brought matters to a crisis, for now Henry's son, prince Richard, earl of Poictou, assembled those of his party in the dutchy of Aquitain, great part of which came over to him; his brother Geofry, from Henry withheld the dutchy of Bretagne, raised an insurrection there. The frontiers of Normandy were attacked by the French king, and the earls of Blois, Buloin, and Flanders. The earl of Leicester landed near Southampton, with an army composed of French and Flemmings, and was soon joined by several disaffected noblemen, but young king Henry continued at Paris, and affected the king to the utmost, while he was forming an army to support his claim, and reinforce the earl of Leicester in England.

However, Henry, though thus beset on all sides, managed his affairs with so much vigour, prudence, and magnanimity, that he defeated the designs of all his enemies, in a few months, by himself and others. He

§ Year of Christ, 1173.

† For his father Henry, 1170, had caused him to be crowned king of England.

obliged

obliged the French king to raise the siege of Vernevil, and became master of the principal places in Guienne, Saintonge, Anjou, and Poictou, and reduced the revolted Breagnes. The earl of Leicester, in England, was defeated and taken prisoner by Humphrey Bohun, who also routed, and took prisoner, the king of Scotland; who, upon the conclusion of the peace between all parties, was set at liberty, on condition of doing homage to king Henry, and to his son Henry, for his kingdom of Scotland in general, and the county of Galloway in particular §. Young king Henry was so long detained, by contrary winds, at Gravelin, that he had no opportunity of transporting his army into England till it was too late. His father coming over soon after into England, retook such fortresses as still remained in his son's interest. But whilst Henry was in England the French king, uniting his troops with those that lay at Gravelin, laid siege to Roan, which place making a brave defence, Henry had time to go over to the relief of it; upon whose approach the French king hastily raised the siege, and retreated,

§ The king of Scotland, as a security for his dependance on the crown of England, did also put into the hands of the English, the castles of Sterling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick; he also paid an hundred thousand pounds for his liberty.

leaving most of his baggage and implements of war behind him. These great successes made the king of France desire a peace, and a treaty was soon concluded, wherein he promised to surrender to Henry, all the castles he had taken in the beginning of the war. And king Henry's three sons making their submission to him, and acknowledging him for their sovereign, a general peace ensued.

From this time, the kingdom enjoyed a peace for some years, till Henry's sons again conspired against him; but the storm was happily prevented by the death of young king Henry, and peace still continued, till his son prince Richard again rebelled against his father, and took upon him the government of Aquitain * without his father's consent; the people of Anjou also submitted to him; he then invaded Bretagne, and in a battle defeated his brother Geoffery; but was afterwards reconciled to his father, upon quitting Ac-

* Year of Christ, 1186. The year before Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, finding Henry to be the most potent monarch in the Christian world, applied to him for assistance against the Saracens, offering him the crown of Jerusalem, which he pretended belonged to him, as son of Geoffery earl of Anjou, the brother of Foulk, the late king; but Henry, by advice of his council, refused the offer.

quitain, and contenting himself with Poictou. About this time, his brother Geoffery being at a tournament at Paris, was thrown from his horse, and killed.

Philip, now king of France, took the opportunity of the distractions between Henry and his son, to begin hostilities. But Henry and Richard, uniting their forces against Philip, he was obliged to beg a two year's truce, during which time he recovered Richard to his interest. But Henry, making his son sensible that Philip made him only his tool in the affair, Richard left the court of France, where he then was, and returned home to his father. And now the war was revived between the two potentates, when advice came to Europe of the taking of Jerusalem by sultan Saladin, and that Guy Lusignan, the king of the city was taken prisoner. Upon this a truce was agreed on, in order to undertake a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. But a difference arising between prince Richard and the earl of Thoulouse, in which Henry and Philip interfered themselves, the intended expedition was laid aside, and the war between the two monarchs again commenced. Richard once more joined with Philip, and most of the provinces subject to Henry espoused the cause of Philip and Richard, which weakening the power of king Henry, he entered twice into a treaty for a peace, but unable to obtain

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conditions agreeable to himself, the war was revived. Henry, among other losses, sustained that of Mans, the place of his nativity, by the united force of Philip and Richard; this affected him so sensibly, that he cursed the hour of his birth, and uttered curses against his rebellious children; and very hard conditions of peace being required of him, he was so deeply affected with his troubles, that he fell sick at Chinon, and died †.

Richard I. surnamed Cour de Lyon, from his great courage, the eldest surviving son of Henry II. succeeded him in the throne of England. Soon after the king began his reign, the pope having persuaded him and Philip of France, to join in a crusado, to recover the Holy Land, which was almost lost through the dissensions of the Christian

† His death happened on the sixth of July, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign, Year of Christ 1189. In this king's reign, about the year of Christ 1176, London-bridge began to be built, of stone, by Peter Coleman, a priest. The king, the popes legate, and the archbishop of Canterbury, contributed towards the work. It was finished in about thirty-three years, during which time the course of the Thames was turned another way, by a trench cut out for that purpose, from Battersea to Rotherhithe.

princes;

princes; Richard prepared on his part for that expedition, and fitted out the finest fleet that had ever appeared on the ocean, and his land forces were equally great. Richard transported his land-forces into Normandy. The army did not take the same rout as in the preceding wars; but were transported to Palestine by sea, and Sicily was appointed by the two kings for the place of rendezvous. The French king embarked at Genoa, and Richard at Marseilles; but finding the year pretty far advanced *, when their forces arrived in Sicily, they wintered there. The Sicilians were terrified at Richard's great armament, and the French were no less disgusted, as it seemed to eclipse the glory of their monarch.

Tancred, the bastard, then king of Sicily, had usurped that throne, and imprisoned Joanna, king Richard's sister, the dowager of the late king William, for taking part with the emperor, who claimed the kingdom of Sicily in right of Constance his wife, the heiress of the late king. But on the approach of the English fleet, Tancred set the queen at liberty, but Richard made Tancred also promise to pay the queen twenty thousand ounces of gold, in lieu of her dower, and the same sum to himself as a satisfaction for the legacies the late king William bequeathed to his fa-

* September 23.

ther, Henry II. But Tancred, not immediately fulfilling his promise, and his people treating the English very ill, who were quartered in Messina, Richard assembled his forces, assaulted the city, took it, and fixed his colours on the walls. He put the place into the possession of the knights templars, till he could obtain satisfaction of Tancred; who soon after coming to Messina, complied with the king's demands, and had the city restored to him.

Here a great indifference arose between king Richard and king Philip, upon which the latter, not waiting till Richard was ready, sailed for Palestine. As soon as the English fleet was ready it sailed for Messina, consisting of one hundred and fifty large ships, fifty-three gallies, and a vast number of store-ships. There were on board thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. In the course of this voyage Richard took the town of Limezum, in the island of Cyprus, and Isaac the emperor of the country, prisoner, having entirely defeated his troops, because he had seized upon the effects of several of his ships, that were driven by a storm on his coasts, and made the crews prisoners. Richard, at his departure from Cyprus for Syria, left two viceroys to govern the island *.

Richard

* Whilst Richard staid in the island he married the princess Beringaria, daughter of Sanctius,

Richard, on his arrival in the Holy Land, found that Raymond, earl of Tripoly, was very likely to take the kingdom of Jerusalem from Guy, who upon the death of Baldwin had taken upon himself the title of king of that city, and had engaged the assistance of Saladin, the sultan of the Saracens in Egypt. Saladin took this opportunity to seize upon several cities, and laid siege to Jerusalem; which he took in one month; about ninety years after the conquest of it by the Christian princes.

Richard and Philip having joined the forces already there, from most parts of Europe, sat down before the city of Acon, which had been invested three years. They continued before it four months, when it surrendered upon these conditions: 1. That Saladin should restore the holy cross, which he had taken at the siege of Jerusalem. 2. That he should give fifteen hundred Christian slaves their liberty. 3. That the city, and every thing in it, should be at the disposal of the Christians. 4. That Saladin should pay twenty thousand pieces of gold to the two kings, towards the expences of the war; and, lastly, that upon the fulfilment of these conditions the garison should have their lives.

tius king of Navarre, in the presence of Guido, king of Jerusalem, and several Syrian princes.

Leopald,

Leopold, duke of Austria, planted his colours on that part of the walls which lay next his attack, but Richard ordered them to be taken down, and those only of himself and Philip to remain. This so provoked the duke, that he immediately left them, waiting for an opportunity to be revenged on Richard, which he afterwards found on the king's return through Austria.

Richard's valiant behaviour at the siege of Acon, had procured him so much honour from the soldiers, that Philip could not behold it without great disgust; this encreased the difference subsisting between the two monarchs. Disputes arose also among the other Christian princes; and now a contagious distemper broke out in the Christian army, and both the king's lost their hair by it. Philip pleaded his sickness, as an excuse to return home, and desired leave of Richard to do so, for they had both sworn not to return without the consent of each other. Richard, who suspected his design was to invade his country, insisted upon his staying till Jerusalem, not yet taken, should be in their hands; but Philip obstinately persisting in his request, Richard obliged him to swear he would protect his dominions till his return, and not suffer them to be invaded, or damaged, by his own subjects, or any other power. Philip, leaving behind him ten thousand men, under the duke of Burgundy, returned to Europe.

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Richard now demanded the performance of the articles agreed upon with Saladin, who, encouraged by the absence of Philip, became insolent, and, refusing to comply, caused the heads of every one of the captives whom he had promised to give up, to be cut off in sight of the Christian army. This put Richard and the duke of Burgundy upon a dreadful revenge; for they murdered all their prisoners, particularly the garison of Acon, who remained as hostages for the performance of the articles of capitulation, being in all about two thousand seven hundred men; seven only, of the best quality, were exempted from this general execution. And to convince Saladin that he had nothing to hope from the absence of the French king, the noble Richard instantly marched to lay siege to Ascalon, whilst the fleet followed him along the coast, to supply the army with provisions on the march.

Saladin therefore assembled a vast army of three hundred thousand men, and placed himself in the way to oppose the king. But Richard, notwithstanding the inferiority of his own troops, boldly determined to attack the enemy. A brisk engagement ensued, when the right wing, commanded by James d'Avesnes, and the left by the duke of Burgundy, suffered greatly, and must have retreated, had not the king, who commanded the main body of the army, been more successful,

cessful, and routed that part of the enemy's army which he engaged; for by this means he was able to send part of his troops to their relief. And now the battle began again with new vigour on the side of the Christians, and the Saracens were totally defeated, with the slaughter of forty thousand of their men. Richard, during the course of this battle, manifested no less conduct than bravery. James d'Avesnes was the only person of note whom the Christians had killed.

The consequence of this victory was, that Saladin having demolished part of the fortifications of Ascalon, Joppa, and Cæsarea, abandoned those towns, which were immediately taken possession of by the Christians. They then repaired the works that the enemy had destroyed, and laid up magazines, the want of which at times had been very fatal to the Christians.

During their stay there Richard had like to have been taken by the infidels, in this manner; he was fond of hawking and hunting, and having indulged himself at this sport one day, and being too eager in the pursuit of his game, he was led unawares too far into the country, attended only by five or six persons, when a party of Saracens surrounded him. Richard, and those with him, made the best defence they could, but being at length overcome, would have been taken, had not one of his gentlemen, William de Protellis, been so bravely
loyal

loyal as to cry out, "I am the king of England;" upon which the enemy surrounded and made him prisoner: this gave Richard an opportunity to escape, who was not unmindful of his faithful servant, for he gave ten Saracen lords to ransom him. As soon as the towns on the coast were put into a tolerable state, the king led his army for Jerusalem. As they were on their march they met a large caravan coming from Babylon, commanded by no less than ten thousand horsemen; these they encountered and defeated, took a great booty; three thousand camels laden with the rich merchandise of Persia, and the Indies; besides several thousand horses and mules.

Being arrived at Jerusalem, Richard took a view of the place, but it appeared to be so strong, and defended by a large garrison, that he thought it would be impossible to take it, as it was then late in the year. It was therefore agreed to defer the attempt till the next spring. But even the thoughts of this was afterwards declined, for the duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French troops, and the marquis of Montferrat, who led those from Italy, retreating, king Richard considering this diminution of the forces, and the great reduction of his own troops by sickness and the sword, found himself under a necessity of concluding a three-years truce, as offered

offered to him by Saladin, intending, however, to return again when reinforced *.

Richard, who had staid a year in Palestine after Philip's departure, now prepared to return to England. Having sent away his fleet, on board of which was his queen, he embarked on board a single vessel †; and as he was hastening home, he came to a village near Vienna, in Austria, when the duke of that country, who owed him a grudge, for the affront he received from him in Palestine, as

* By the above truce it was agreed, that the fortifications of Ascalon should be destroyed, and not rebuilt by either party; that the Christians should keep Joppa and Acon, and such other towns as they were possessed of. Richard proposed that the generals should elect a proper person to command the army in his absence. Conrad marquis of Montferrat, one of the competitors for the kingdom of Jerusalem, being chosen, he was stabbed in the streets of Tyre, where he commanded, by two Mahometan assassins. Richard then got Henry, earl of Campaign, to be elected. He was nephew to the kings of England and France. Richard also married him to Isabella, the widow of the deceased king of Jerusalem, whereby he obtained that title; and on Guy of Lusignan, Richard, in lieu of Jerusalem, conferred the kingdom of Cyprus; which remained in his family upwards of two hundred years.

† Year of Christ, 1191.

already

already mentioned, ordered him to be seized, and imprisoned him. He afterwards put him into the hands of the German emperor, Henry VI. with whom he remained a prisoner upwards of a year, by the artifices of Philip, who spared no treasure to prevent his returning to his kingdom. In the mean time he excited John, Richard's younger brother, to mount the throne of England. John gave out, that his brother was dead, and demanded to be acknowledged king of England; which some of the lords did, but most of them continued in their loyalty. Philip, in the mean time, did not only use his utmost endeavours to get king Richard put into his hands, but entered Normandy with an army, and seized on several towns and provinces belonging to the English.

The emperor, having got what money he could from the French king, begun to listen to the proposals which were made him by the English for the ransom of their sovereign*; and

* The ransom was one hundred and fifty thousand marks, the third of which the duke of Austria was to have for his share. It is observed by several historians, that both the emperor and the duke of Austria, who had so basely abused, and imprisoned, a Christian prince, came to miserable

and having worked them up to an immense sum, gave their prince his liberty.

The king returned to England, and landed on the coast of Kent, having been absent about four years †. Prince John having fled into France to avoid the king's resentment, Philip took advantage of this revolt, and once more invaded Normandy, thinking Richard's finances were too low to engage in a war. But Richard found means to raise money, and prepared to go over to France, but staid to be crowned again at Winchester, the solemnity of which was scarce over, when news came to him, as he sat at dinner, that the French king was besieging Vernevil, which bringing to his mind his former injustice towards him, he was so enraged that he swore 'he

ferable ends. The duke had his legs broken by a fall from his horse, of which he died, and was so sensible of the injustice he had been guilty of, before he died, that he ordered the money that was in arrear to him should not be demanded of king Richard, but the hostages to be immediately released.

The emperor also falling sick in Sicily, and lying under the sentence of excommunication, sent his chancellor to beg king Richard's pardon, and promised to restore the money he had extorted from him.

† In the month of March, 1194.

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would not turn his face till he reached the French army.' He therefore had the wall of the room broken down, and directly embarked on board his fleet, consisting of an hundred sail. The army which he took with him to Normandy was so considerable, that as soon as Philip received intelligence of his landing he raised the siege of Vernevil with so much haste, that he neither staid to take tents nor baggage with him.

Prince John seeing how timorous an ally he had, got himself restored to his brother's favour, by the mediation of his mother, queen Eleanor. Richard pursued the French king into Touraine, and being got near the town of Vendosme; Philip, fearing to come to an action, sent Richard word he would meet him next morning at the head of his army. But this was a French trick, to gain time, to run away; for Philip immediately decamped, and with so much precipitation, that he not only left behind him his baggage and treasure, but even the records of his kingdom †. A treaty was soon after concluded between the two nations.

However, this treaty did not last very long, and in one year * the English defeated the

† Year of Christ, 1195. According to Mez-
erai, a French historian.

* 1198.

French three times. The most considerable action was near Gisors, where the French king was in eminent danger of losing his life, by the breaking down of the bridge over the river Ept, as the victorious English were driving the French over it. King Richard in this battle defeated and took prisoners, three of the bravest knights in Philip's army. Upon this occasion Richard put this motto upon his arms, DIEU ET MON DROIT, "God and my right." The next year a treaty for five years was agreed upon.

During Richard's stay abroad, a Limosin gentleman found a great treasure on his estate, part of which he presented to Richard; but the king demanded the whole, because he being sovereign of the country, *treasure trove*, was his right. The gentleman unwilling to give up the whole, secured it in the castle of Chalons, belonging to Vidomir count of Limoges. Richard therefore invested the place, but as he was taking a view of the walls to attack them, one Bertrand shot an arrow from the walls and wounded him in the neck, which gangrening; he suffered great torture.

In the mean time, the castle was taken and Bertrand brought prisoner before the king, who asked him what injury he had ever done to him, that he had endeavoured to kill him; to this he resolutely answered, "You killed with your own hand, both my father and his brother

brother, and if I should be so fortunate as to rid the world of such a tyrant, I shall with pleasure undergo the greatest torture that can be inflicted upon me." The king seemed to receive this bold reproach with great mildness, for he ordered an hundred shillings and his liberty to be given to him. But the wound gangreening, through the unskilfulness of the surgeon, the king suffered great torment for eleven days and then died †, when the Flemish general, less merciful than the deceased monarch, ordered the unhappy Bertrand to be dead alive.

Though Arthur duke of Bretagne was the son of the elder brother of the late king, yet being but thirteen years of age, and a foreigner, whom the English had never seen, they chose John for their king, and accordingly took an oath of allegiance to him. He was at this time in Normandy, which he secured by his presence, but the provinces of Tourain, Maine, and Anjou, declaring for Arthur, John raised an army and laid siege to Mans. He took the city, and to show his resentment at their declaring for Arthur,

† April 6th. 1199, in the forty-first year of his age, having reigned nine years and nine months; it is observed that he did not reside the odd nine months in England.

demolished the walls and made the citizens prisoners.

Some time after he came over to England and was crowned at Westminster; but his affairs in Normandy requiring his presence there, he soon returned thither. Philip had taken the city of Evreux in Normandy, by surprise, and was near taking others; when John arriving, and assembling his army Philip desired, and obtained, a truce of fifty days; at the expiration of which, hostilities were renewed. Notwithstanding the French king had reinforced his army, John still drove him before him, recovered the province of Maine and forced Philip to retreat into his own dominions. Philip plainly seeing he should never be able to gain his point by force, entered into a treaty with the king of England, and they agreed, that Philip should afford Arthur duke of Bretagne, no further assistance; to yield up Poictou, Maine, Tourain, and Anjou, Berry, Auvergne, Evreux, and such places as had been taken from the English since the death of king Richard. John agreed on his part not to assist his nephew, Otho the emperor, who was his confederate against France; that his niece, Blanche, princess of Castile, should marry prince Lewis, the son of Philip, with whom John also agreed to give a portion of twenty thousand marks of silver, and the provinces of Berry and Auvergne.

John

John now turned his thoughts from war to love, and married the beautiful Isabella*, the Helen of the age, daughter of Aymer earl of Angloulême; who had been contracted to Hugh earl of March, who therefore became his mortal enemy.

In the mean time, Philip, under the mask of friendship, was secretly contriving the ruin of king John, and at length hostilities were renewed between them, and worked up the earl of March's resentment against John, for depriving him of Isabella, and put Arthur upon attempting to possess himself of all the provinces the English held in France.

Philip at last openly demanded of John, at an interview, that he should give up to Arthur, Normandy, and the rest of his provinces on the continent, which he refusing, Philip soon after invaded Normandy, and before John could get his troops together, took several towns. Philip in the interim, sent Arthur and the earl of March with a body of troops into Poictou to make a diversion on that side, and encourage the insurrection of the natives, who were now most of them in arms against king John, and had made themselves masters of several strong places in that province. Prince Arthur and the earl of March arriving in Poictou, received intelligence that Eleanor the queen-Mother was at

* Year of Christ, 1200.

Mirabel, they immediately invested the place, and became masters of the town; but the old queen retiring into the castle, gave her son time to come to her assistance; whereupon a battle was fought between the king of England on one side, and duke Arthur and the earl of March on the other, near the walls of Mirabel, where the English obtained a complete victory, and both Arthur and the earl were taken prisoners, together with the princess Eleanor, Arthur's sister, styled the beauty of Bretagne, who was sent over into England, and remained prisoner in Bristol-castle till she died, being about forty years. The French king receiving advice of the defeat of his confederates, as he lay before Arches, raised the siege of that place with precipitation, and retired into his own territories.

In the mean time, king John having prince Arthur in his power, endeavoured by all the arguments he could use, to draw him off from the interest of Philip; but Arthur, it is said, answered all his kind offers in a scornful manner. John was so exasperated, that he ordered him to be confined close prisoner in a strong tower, on the walls of Rouen, after which he was never heard of, most people supposing he was put to death. Most of the towns in Normandy revolted to Philip.

Philip*, and the rest made either a slight defence, or none at all.

King John remained at Rouen, and by his presence kept that city and some other places from revolting for a time; but finding himself deserted by the English barons as well as the Norman, he thought it proper to embark for England, and landed at Portsmouth on the sixth of December; whereupon a great many other towns surrendered to Philip.

King John neglected to raise forces for the recovery of the towns he daily lost, and squandered away the money designed for that purpose in shews and other idle amusements†. Philip still continued to dispossess king John of his towns in Normandy, and having laid siege to Rouen the capital, it surrendered upon articles, after having made a good defence. The castle of Andeli, situated on a rock, held out a siege of almost a year, when the brave governor Roger Lacy, finding he had no more provision left, sallied out with his garrison, endeavouring to break through the French army, but after a sharp engagement, he was length overpowered and taken prisoner. The French in regard to the noble defence he had made, gave him the liberty of residing where he pleased, and king Philip

* Year of Christ, 1203. † Year of Christ, 1204.

finished the conquest of Normandy, by taking of the castles of Vernevil and Arches.

The provinces of Maine, Touraine, Anjou and Poictou, having agreed to submit to Philip also, if they were not relieved at a time prefixed, were surrendered to him soon after Normandy, king John letting them know that he was not in a condition to relieve them. However the Poictovins soon weary of the French yoke §, and promising to obey their former sovereign king John, he once more assembled the barons, in order to recover his transmarine dominions; but just as he was about to embark, the earl of Pembroke and some other noblemen gave him to understand that they would not follow him out of England. The clergy appeared no less dissatisfied with the king than the barons.

While this dispute was depending*, the king raised a good body of troops, and transported them to Rochelle, from whence he marched to the assistance of the Poictovins, who had invited him over, and recovered great part of that province from the French; but Philip applying himself to some who had an influence on the king of England, persuaded him to consent to a two years truce, before the expiration whereof John was engaged in so many perplexed affairs at home,

§ Year of Christ, 1205.

that

that he had no time to attend those on that side the water any more, and the Poictovins having lost their protector, were forced to submit to Philip again.

Three bishops, in pursuance of the pope's orders, laid both England and Wales under an interdict, insomuch that there was a cessation of all divine service, except baptism, confession, and the administration of the eucharist to dying persons †.

John, that he might not be unprovided to defend himself in case of a revolt, raised a formidable army, on pretence the king of Scotland had received and abetted some English out-laws that had fled thither. But upon the approach of the English army towards the borders, a treaty was set on foot between the two princes, who had neither of them any great inclination to enter into a war, wherein it was stipulated, that the king of Scotland should pay king John eleven thousand marks of silver, and leave his two daughters in the English court, as hostages, or pledges, that he would not disturb the peace of king John's dominions. And at his return to Woodstock, the princes of Wales came thither and renewed their homage §.

The pope in the mean while being determined to distress the king as far as his spiri-

tual artillery would reach, thundered out his curses and excommunications against the king and all his subjects that obeyed him.

The king still kept up a good body of standing troops as his best security against the pope and his adherents, for which Ireland furnished him this year with a pretence, many of the petty princes in that island disclaiming any dependance on England, and particularly the prince of Connaught; but the king transporting his army to Dublin, most of the Irish royalets came in, paid their homage, and took the oaths to him. Cuthol prince of Connaught only stood out, against whom the king marched, and having taken the strong places he possessed, made Cuthol his prisoner; then the whole nation submitted, and king John introduced the English laws and customs among them, after which he took hostages of the Irish for their peaceable behaviour for the future, and leaving the bishop of Norwich (whom he designed for the see of Canterbury) his viceroy in that kingdom, he returned to England. As he passed through Wales, he obliged the Welsh princes to do him homage, and deliver him twenty-eight hostages as a pledge of their loyalty §. And thus having humbled both the Irish and Welsh, he came up in a triumphant manner

§ Year of Christ, 1211.

towards

towards London, being met on the road by two nuncio's from the pope, who pretended they were come into England to endeavour a reconciliation between the king and his clergy, tho' in reality their sole intention was to complete the king's ruin; for notwithstanding the king offered to restore the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the bishops and clergy, and consented that the church should enjoy all the rights and priveledges she did in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and thereupon they published the excommunication against the king, which was the principal design of their voyage. Then the pope proceeded to absolve all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanded them, on pain of excommunication, to avoid the king in public and private, at his councils, his table, and common conversation.

The nobility who were already disaffected, and only restrained by the oaths they had taken †, or a sense of their duty, being thus absolved from their allegiance, entered into a conspiracy against the king, and held a correspondence with Philip king of France, offered to obey him as their sovereign, if he would bring over a body of forces and protect them against the tyranny and oppression of king John, who was now assembling an ar-

my, in order to march against the Welsh, and restrain the incursions they had made this year into the English pale. The king received intelligence of the conspiracy of his nobility from the king of Scots, before he began his march; but not giving entire credit to the advice, he hanged up the hostages he had received in Wales the year before, and moved forwards with his army towards Chester, where receiving more certain intelligence that the very barons and their dependants who composed great part of his army were in the conspiracy, he dismissed them and returned to London, where having assembled some troops that he could depend upon, he required such of the nobility as he most suspected, to give him hostages as pledges of their loyalty, which they were obliged to do, unless some few of them that fled beyond sea, the conspirators not being in a condition to form an army at this juncture to make head against the king.

The pope receiving intelligence of the disposition of the barons to revolt, proceeded in a solemn manner to decree king John absolutely deposed from his kingdom, and required the French king to put the sentence in execution; for which he promised him remission of all his sins, together with the kingdom of England, in perpetual right, when he should have dethroned the present possessor. He invited also all knights and military
men

men in Christendom to sign themselves with the cross, and follow the king of France as their general in this expedition against king John.

The French king was very ready to execute the pope's orders : he had already, without any such encouragement, deprived king John of all his territories on the continent, except Guienne, or the dutchy of Aquitaine, and would gladly have added the British isles to his former conquests. He summoned therefore all his nobility, knights and others, who held of him by any military tenures, to appear at Rouen, where he formed a very numerous army*. He fitted out a very great fleet also that rendezvoused at the mouth of the Seine, in order to make a descent upon England. But notwithstanding the pope had empowered Philip to take possession of the English throne, and put him to so vast an expence to effect it, he sent Pandolph his nuncio to king John, to let him know he might yet remain king of England if he would submit himself to the see of Rome ; nor had John been wanting in any measures that might contribute to his defence in case of an invasion. He had issued out writs to the sheriffs of the respective counties to summon the barons and other immediate tenants of the crown to appear

* Year of Christ, 1214.

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* Year of Christ, 1214.

with their vassals and dependants at Dover, and other writs were directed to the bailiffs of the sea ports to send all the shipping in their ports to the general rendezvous upon the coast of Kent; whereupon a great fleet and army were assembled on a sudden, of which the king retained only sixty thousand land forces who were encamped on Barham-Downs, near Dover, and such a number of ships as he thought necessary to prevent a descent.

Pandolph the pope's legate arrived; and the king submitted to the pope, declaring at the same time that he did not do it out of fear or constraint, but of his own accord in a council of his barons, to make satisfaction to God and his church for his offences; and that he would for the future hold his crown of the see of Rome, paying an annual pension of a thousand marks for the kingdoms of England and Ireland; and accordingly he did homage to the pope, whom Pandolph represented, resigned his crown, and paid part of the pension agreed on in the church of Dover, in the presence of many of the nobility and a multitude of other people.

Pandolph having kept the crown and regalia in his hands three, or four days, returned them to the king again, giving him to understand that now he was become a subject and vassal to the see of Rome.

The

The legate Pandolph having executed that part of his commission which related to king John, embarked again for France, where he found king Philip upon the point of transporting his troops; but the legate prohibited his making a descent upon England, acquainting him that king John was now become an obedient son of the church. To which the French king answered, that as he had already been at a vast expence in making preparations for this expedition, and undertaken it at the incitement of the pope in order to obtain the remission of his sins, he should not be deterred from it by any future censures; demanding of his nobility and vassals if they were not ready to assist him in the intended descent on England; to which they all consented, unless the earl of Flanders, who represented that the expedition was both unjust and impracticable, since the pope opposed it. At which the French king was so exasperated, that he immediately commanded his troops to march towards Flanders, and his fleet to the mouth of the Scheld, in order to invade the earl's territories both by sea and land. Of which king John receiving intelligence, he ordered his navy, which was commanded by his brother the earl of Salisbury, and lay over against the coast of Flanders, to sail to the assistance of the earl; which orders the English admirals executed with that conduct and bravery that they took three hundred

dred ships, destroyed an hundred more, and the rest of the French fleet was burnt or destroyed by their own hands, to prevent being taken, which perfectly put an end to king Philip's project of invading England.

On the other hand, king John entering into an alliance with the emperor and the earl of Flanders, thought himself now in a condition to attempt the recovery of the territories he had lost in France: whereupon he commanded his troops to rendezvous at Portsmouth; but when he was about to embark them, the barons declared they could not follow him. The king however imagining this was but a pretence, and that they would follow him, embarked and sailed as far as the Isle of Jersey; but understanding the barons were marched home again, he found himself obliged to return to England.

The pope appeared now, and ordered the exiled clergy to accept of forty thousand marks in lieu of all their demands, and the legate took off the interdict on the twenty-ninth of June †.

Now king John having prevailed on the barons to pass the seas with him, recovered great part of the province of Poictou, after which he marched into Anjou; but the sickle

† Year of Christ, 1214.

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Poictovins deserting him just as he was about to give battle to Lewis the Dauphin, and Philip obtaining a complete victory over his allies the Imperialists and Flemings at Bovines, he thought fit to return to England, after he had concluded a truce with France for five years; after which he found himself so much embarrassed by domestic troubles, that he never made any further attempt towards the recovery of his foreign dominions.

The king was scarce returned to England, but great numbers of the barons, under pretence of a pilgrimage, assembled at St. Edmund's-Bury, where they entered into an association, binding themselves by an oath, that if the king refused to confirm their privileges, they would withdraw themselves from his obedience, and compel him to confirm them by force of arms ||. And having appointed the lord Fitz-water their general, to whom they gave the title of "the marshal of the army of God, and of the Holy Church," they laid siege to the castle of Northampton, which making a better defence than they expected, they marched to Bedford-castle, which their friend Beauchamp the governor surrendered to them. And here receiving intelligence that the city of London

|| Year of Christ, 1215.

were

were zealous for them, they hastened their march thither, and Aldgate being delivered up to them, by those who had the guard of it, in the night time, their army entered the city before the king had notice of their approach, and afterwards laid siege to the tower.

From London they sent expresses to all the lords of the king's party, and to those who affected to stand neuter in this war, that unless they joined their forces with the barons, they would destroy their houses and estates: which induced great numbers to join them, who had no such design before.

The king finding he could not raise forces to suppress an insurrection that was so general, sent the earl of Pembroke and some other noblemen, to acquaint the barons, he would grant them the laws they desired, and ordered them to appoint some certain time and place where he might meet them and transact the affair. Whereupon the barons fixed upon the fifteenth of June, to meet the king in Runnimead, between Stains and Windsor; a place, it is said, where former treaties had been held, concerning the peace of the kingdom, from whence it was called Runnimead, or the Mead of Council.

The barons having obtained these terms, it is said, thought themselves extremely happy, but on the contrary the king looked upon himself to be no less miserable. He sent a
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deputation to the pope, desiring to be absolved from the oath he had been forced to make to observe the charters, with which his holiness very readily complied.

The king in the mean time sent officers into France and Flanders to raise troops, and invite adventurers into his service, promising to give them lands in England in proportion to the forces they should bring to his assistance; which had such an effect, that great numbers of knights and military men, embarked for England, and soon enabled the king to take the field and act offensively against the barons, notwithstanding Hugh de Boves, with forty thousand foreigners, were cast away near Calais as they were coming over to join king John.

The king receiving advice of the arrival of the foreign troops, left the Isle of Wight, and putting himself at the head of them, marched to besiege Rochester castle, which holding out longer than was expected, it is said he threatened to hang all the garrison, but was dissuaded from it lest the enemy should retaliate it on his own people.

The barons shut themselves up in London, while he divided his army in two parts; with one whereof he ravaged the north in person, burning and plundering the estates of the barons and their tenants that were not in his interest; while the earl of Salisbury, with the other part of the army, did the same in the

the South; and the pope at the same time excommunicated the barons and their adherents, who continued nevertheless to oppose king John to the utmost of their power.

The following year *, his holiness excommunicated the disaffected barons by name, and interdicted all their lands, and particularly the city of London, their head quarters. They sent a deputation to Philip king of France, offering to accept the Dauphin for their sovereign if he would send him over with a sufficient force to protect them against king John.

Philip very readily closed with their proposal, and upon their giving him five and twenty hostages as a pledge of their sincerity, sent them an immediate supply of troops, which sailing up the Thames arrived safe at London. He promised also they should be suddenly reinforced by his son Lewis, and a more considerable body of men.

The pope hereupon dispatched his legate Gallo, or Wallo, to the French king, requiring him to prevent his son Lewis's enterprise against England. Lewis vowed he would run the hazard of the pope's excommunication, rather than desert the cause of the English barons who had invited him over, and soon after set sail for England with six

* Year of Christ, 1216.

hundred ships and eighty boats, landing at Sandwich in Kent, without any opposition from King John, and was there joined by the baron's in his interest; but being assured that Alexander Abbot of St. Austin's at Canterbury, had orders to excommunicate him and all his adherents, he wrote a letter to the Abbot, but the Abbot, without regarding his pretences, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against prince Lewis and all the forces he brought with him.

King John fearing his mercenaries, who were most of them subjects of France, might betray him, or desert to the Dauphin, retired from Dover towards Winchester, on the approach of the French army, having first put a strong garrison into Dover castle, commanded by the famous Hubert de Burgh. Prince Lewis thereupon marched forward and laid siege to Rochester, which surrendering after a short siege, he continued his march to London, where the barons swore allegiance to him after he had taken an oath to restore them their estates, and govern them by their antient laws.

From London Lewis marched again into the southern countries, reducing most of the fortresses which were possessed by king John's adherents in Kent, Surry, Sussex and Hampshire; but the strong castle of Dover baffled all his attacks. While he lay at the siege of this place, Alexander king of Scots came and joined

joined him with a good body of troops, and did homage for the lands he held in England; whereupon both Lewis and the barons engaged not to make peace with king John without his concurrence.

The forces of Lewis and the barons having been for some time superior to those of king John in the field, took full revenge on the king's friend's, burning and plundering his adherents with no less fury than the barons vassals had been ravaged while the king was master of the field; but king John observing at length that the enemy was taken up with the sieges of Dover and Windsor, assembled all the forces he could draw together, and once more plundered the barons estates; whereupon they were obliged to raise the siege of Windsor, and march to defend their tenants whom the king was persecuting in Norfolk, Suffolk, and elsewhere.

Many of the barons about this time, either moved by their losses, or the insults of the French, began to think of making their submission to their natural sovereign.

John before he was apprised of the inclination of the barons to return to their duty, being apprehensive he should not be able to defend himself against their united forces at Lynn, where he resided and kept his treasure with the regalia, marched from thence towards Lincolnshire over the great Wash which divides that country from Norfolk.

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The king passed the Wash with most part of his army in pretty good order, but the tide coming in sooner than was expected, he lost all his baggage, treasure, regalia, and some of his troops; and either by the fatigue of the march, or concern for his loss, fell ill of a fever at Swineshead abbey, and apprehending his distemper would carry him off, he appointed his son Henry, then about ten years of age, his successor; and died three days after his arrival at Newark §, being the eighteenth of October, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign.

Henry III, not then ten years old, succeeded his father John in all his titles and estates, and was crowned at Gloucester †, and to William earl of Pembroke, earl marshal of England, was committed the care of the kingdom, and the young king by the other peers. Prince Lewis, the French king's son, who was now besieging Dover castle, finding he could not induce Hubert de Burgh, the governor to surrender it to him, neither by threats nor promises raised the siege and marched to London; put a strong garrison into the tower, and took other methods to secure the metropolis. He then laid siege to Hertford, which made a brave defence but at last surrendered; he afterwards got possession of Berkhamstead

§ Year of Christ, 1216. † 1216.

in

in the same county, and put garrisons in both places.

A cessation of arms being agreed on, Lewis went over to France, from whence he returning the Easter after, with so large a reinforcement, that he was enabled to send twenty thousand men, under the command of the earl of Perch, to the relief of Montsorrel in Leicestershire, upon whose approach the earl of Chester, who was besieging the place on the behalf of Henry, raised the siege, as his own troops were inferior to those of the enemy. This success encouraged the French to commit many cruelties. The next they attempted was the siege of Lincoln castle, which though the city had all along sided with the Barons, held out for the king. As this castle was of great importance, the earl of Pembroke hastened to the relief of it †. At the same time Fawkes de Brent threw a strong detachment into the castle, with orders to sally out of the castle into the tower. They accordingly did so, and at the same time the regent attacked the city on the other side and entered it. The French being by this stratagem enclosed between the castle and the army, a fierce battle ensued, in which most of the French were killed either in the tower, or in their flight. The earl of Perch, their general, was killed, and only a

† Year of Christ, 1218.

few of the horse escaped to London. The conquerors took prisoners, a great many English barons, four hundred knights, besides common soldiers. The soldiery were allowed to plunder the city, who neither spared the churches nor the clergy. Lewis had at the same time laid siege again to Dover-castle; but as soon as he heard of this defeat, he marched to London, and sent to his father for further succours. But Philip, who feared the Pope's censures, not daring to send him openly any assistance, secretly sent him a body of troops, which in their passage were met by the English fleet; when an engagement ensued. The English got the windward of the French, and throwing unslacked lime at them, put them into such confusion, that unable to defend themselves, most of their ships were taken, or destroyed. These two defeats, and Lewis being blocked up in London, brought about a peace; by which Lewis renounced all pretensions to England, and leaving Henry in the entire possession of his kingdom returned home to France.

Peace continued for some years till at last † the French king Lewis VIII, taking advantage of the king's minority refused to deliver up the English prisoners in France, took several places in Santtoign, and besieged Ro-

† Year of Christ, 1224.

chelle, which surrendered in a few days. But the next year Henry raised an army, and sent it over to the continent under the government of his brother Richard, assisted by one of the greatest soldiers of those times, William earl of Salisbury, uncle to the king. They got safe to Bourdeaux, retook several towns, attacked Hugh earl of March, who was besieging Riol, and took all his baggage, and ammunition. Henry intended himself to have followed these forces with a reinforcement; but was prohibited by the Pope who had engaged the French king to march at the head of a Crusado against the Albigenes †.

The French king dying in the course of this war, and Lewis IX his son being but twelve years old, the queen mother was appointed regent, who some time after disagreeing with the nobility, they invited king Henry to come over, and take them under his protection; and the barons of Normandy and Poictou offering also to submit, to him, Henry would willingly have gone over, but his ministry not providing him timely with a sufficient number of ships to transport his numer-

† The French king met with very great losses in this unjust war, not from the enemy but by poisonous flies, and an inundation which destroyed the greatest part of his army. The king himself was poisoned by a gallant of the Queen's.

ous army; he was obliged to postpone his design. The next spring he carried his army over to Bretagne, and intended to march into Normandy, or Poictou, as should be most convenient. But, as the French court and the nobility being now reconciled, and the inhabitants of Normandy and Poictou having laid down their arms, the French king was enabled to bring his whole force against Henry. He found it was too late to make any attempts upon France. He therefore contented himself with visiting the towns that belonged to him in Poictou, Santonge and Guienne. When leaving part of his army in Bretagne, for the defence of it, Henry returned to England, and not long after a truce of three years was agreed upon between the two monarchs.

About the time of his return † there was a general insurrection in Ireland of the natives against the English, the lord justice having cut in pieces near twenty thousand of them, and taken prisoner the king of Conaught, the states of the kingdom was again settled.

Some disputes arising between the king and his barons ‡, the earl of Pembroke besieged, and took some castles, which he the year before had surrendered to the king, upon which the latter marched to the borders of Wales, but found the earl had so wasted

† Year of Christ, 1230.
VOL. VII. G

‡ 1233.

those

those parts that he could not subsist his army. He therefore marched into Monmouthshire, to supply the wants of his army. Whilst his men were encamped near the castle of Gresmont the earl attacked them by night, and took five, or six hundred horse. Upon this the king leaving part of his men to defend the borders of England, removed to Gloucester. The earl of Pembroke intending to besiege the castle of Monmouth, came to take a view of it, but fell into an ambuscade; however he defended himself so well, that his army had time to come to his assistance. He then plundered, and burnt the estates of those who were of the king's party, and burnt part of the town of Shrewsbury, which obliged the king to retreat to Winchester. The bishop of Winchester, then prime minister, at last thought of an expedient to rid the king of this powerful enemy. He induced the council to send an order to the governors of Ireland, to plunder the estates of the earl in that kingdom, promising they should have those estates for their pains; they accordingly raised an army and ravaged the earl's lands. This had the desired effect; for the earl immediately went over to Ireland to put a stop to their devastations, where he was basely destroyed, by some pretended friends, who engaged him in a battle, but in the middle of the action, this brave soldier was stabbed in the back by

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a dagger, by some villain lost to all sense of honour. As to the disputes between the king and his Parliament they subsisted for near thirty years, and ended at length in a civil war, called the barons war. This war however remained doubtful, each party gaining advantages over the other till the famous battle of Lewes †, of which I shall now speak.

The king had taken Oxford ‡, Northampton, and Nottingham. The barons in the mean time laid Siege to Rochester which the king coming to relieve, surprised their forces, put them into disorder, and obliged the barons to retreat to their head quarters in London, whether the king pursued them, Here the earl of Leicester, with his forces, joined the the citizens, upon which they marched out and offered the king battle, which he thought fit to decline, and marched to Lewes in Suffex.

A treaty was entered into between the king and the barons, but being broke off, both parties prepared for a battle.

Prince Edward, the king's son, and prince Henry son of the king of the Romans * commanded the right wing of the kings's army,

† It was fought May 14, 1264.

‡ At the time the king took this city there was in it 3000 students, whom he dismissed.

* Richard, the king's brother.

as was the left by the king of the Romans and the main body by king Henry himself. The enemy's army likewise consisted of three divisions with a corps de reserve. The earls of Leicester and Gloucester commanded those divisions which were opposite to king Henry and the king of the Romans; the London troops were drawn up on the left, opposite to prince Edward, commanded by Nicholas Seagrave. Prince Edward began the battle by attacking the London forces, whom he defeated, and so entirely routed them that he drove them some miles from the place of engagement. But the other part of the royal army was not so successful, for king Henry and the king of the Romans were very stoutly opposed by the two earls, and being charged in flank by the corps de reserve were entirely defeated and both taken prisoners. Nor could the utmost effort of the two young princes, who were come back from the pursuit of the Londoners, restore the battle. So far from it that they were themselves surrounded by Leicester and Gloucester, and obliged to agree, that the provision, which had been made at Oxford should be observed, for the performance of which they were obliged to surrender themselves as hostages.

Leicester by this victory obtained the command of the whole country, the king's friends being in no condition to oppose him. And as he had the king in his power he obliged him

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to comply with such terms as he was pleased to prescribe. He accordingly made Henry to sign orders to the respective governors in the different places of the kingdom to obey such commands as they should receive from Leicester †. He also forced him to make such other regulations as he thought fit, and in the mean time governed uncontrouled. Things remained in this state above a year, the king moving from place to place, and acting in all respects as the earl directed; but the great power he had was by no means pleasing to the other lords, who were greatly jealous of him.

Prince Edward at last luckily escaped, and being now at liberty immediately joined the earl of Gloucester who, a great many barons having confederated with him, had assembled his troops on the borders of Wales, being sure of the assistance of Mortimer, and the rest of the lords of the marches. He and his friends having fortified castles stood upon their defence. On the arrival of the prince, a great many of the disaffected barons came over to him, and he soon found himself at the head of so great an army so as to be able to force Leicester to a retreat. Leicester sent to his son Simon Montfort in Kent, to come in all haste to him at Evesham where he lay strongly encamped. But the prince apprised of the ap-

† Rymer's Fædera, Vol. I.

proach of this reinforcement intercepted them near Kennelworth and totally defeated them. And then marched with such expedition against Leicester, that he at first took their troops for those of his son, but finding his mistake and seeing the prince at their head, he, in despair cried out, 'Lord have me cy on our souls, for our bodies are our enemies' However he drew up his army in as good order as he could, and sustained the attack with great firmness; but the Welsh allies deserting him, even before they were attacked, he and his son Henry, were both killed, and the army entirely routed. King Henry, whom Leicester had obliged to come into the battle, was wounded in the shoulder, and very near being killed, before the loyalists knew him. But discovering himself, his son congratulated him on their mutual happiness on the day * of victory.

Simon de Montfort, with the few remains of his army, fortified himself in the island of Axholme, in Lincolnshire, but soon after surrendered to prince Edward. Henry pardoned him at his intercession. The castle of Kennelworth sustained a long siege † and blockade, till the besieged were forced to eat their horses. Not long after, the earl of Gloucester

* August 4, 1265.

† They did not surrender till the year 1267.

ter withdrew from court, in disgust, and entered into a confederacy with Lewellin prince of Wales, and several of the disaffected barons. And whilst the king was engaged in endeavouring to reduce the malecontents in Ely, the earl of Gloucester assembled an army, and marched up to London; and, being joined by the citizens, obliged the popes legate, who was in the tower, to surrender it into his hands. Upon this the king ordered prince Edward to join him with his army, and then marched to London; but the barons proposing a treaty, it was accepted of, and a pardon was granted for the earl and the citizens, upon their promise to lay down their arms, and take the oaths to the government.

Lewellin obtained a peace about the same time, and the malcontents in the isle of Ely having no expectation of relief, surrendered to Edward, on a promise of pardon, as to life and limbs; and thus ended the civil wars in the reign of Henry*, who from this time continued in peace † to his decease, which happened

* Year of Christ 1267.

† The princes Edward and Edmund took the opportunity of the peace, to make a voyage to the Holy Land. They, accordingly, attended by the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, and abundance more, of all orders and degrees, took

happened in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the fifty-seventh of his reign*. Prince

Edward

upon them the cross, on hearing of the miserable condition of the Christians in Palestine. Prince Edward went over to France to concert measures with king Lewis, for their joint expedition, and mortgaged to Lewis his duchy of Guienne, for thirty thousand marks, to defray his charges. Not long after, Edward, his wife, and the rest of them, embarked, and arrived at Sicily; when, not being joined by Lewis, as he expected, he took shipping, and got safe to Palestine, near Acon. This city was, at his arrival, besieged by the infidels, whom he attacked, drove them away, and relieved the town. Not content with this, he pursued them from place to place, with his little army, and so greatly harrassed them, that they formed a design to take away Edward's life. For this purpose they proposed a treaty, when a villain, who was admitted into his quarters, under the pretence of negotiating a peace, drew a poisoned dagger to stab him; the prince, aware of his intention, parried the thrust with his arm. But the villain, attempting to repeat his thrust, the prince knocked him down, and killed him with his own weapon. The prince, however, was slightly wounded in the arm, and the cure of it very doubtful, on account of the poison, and owed his life to his wife, who sucked the poison from the wound. The prince had

* Year of Christ, 1272.

now

Edward was at this time abroad, as related in the note, but though it was not known in England in what part of the world he then was, yet the barons met, proclaimed him king, by the title of Edward I. and swore fealty to him, before the high altar in Westminster Abbey. The first war this king was engaged in was with the Welch, a brave, but turbulent, people, often troublesome to the English.

Lewellin, at this time prince of the Welch, refused to attend the coronation of Edward; upon which the king summoned him four times to do homage to him, but he refused, unless the king's eldest son, or the earl of Gloucester, were given as hostages for his security. In the mean time the English took a ship, bound from France to North Wales, which was conveying a daughter of the late earl of Leicester, going to be married to Lewellin, accompanied by her brother Aymeric; these the king detained at his court till he should see the event of the Welch war. Upon this Lewellin made incursions into the English

now remained here near two years, when, finding the Christian powers sent no reinforcements, and that his own army was greatly reduced by sickness and the sword, he concluded a peace with the Saracens, for ten years, ten months, and ten days.

G 5

marches,

marches, and laid the country waste. This provoked the king to invade the principality of Wales. Accordingly Edward appointed a rendezvous at Worcester*. And taking the queen and court with him, marched with a numerous army into the country, having caused broad ways, to be cut through the thickest woods, that his armies might march with the greater ease and expedition, and preserve a communication with each other. He laid waste all the open country, and by his shipping attacked their sea-ports, and got the possession of the isle of Anglesea. In the mean time the Welsh retreated to the inaccessible mountains of Snowden, in hopes of making incursions from thence, and harassing the king's troops and cut off his provisions, as they had formerly done by his predecessors. But the king had taken such precautions, that his army was well supplied by sea and land, whilst the Welsh suffered greatly in their retreat, for want of provisions. Lewellin, therefore, sued for a peace, which he obtained, but upon very hard conditions; but these the king afterwards generously relaxed.

A few years afterwards † Lewellin revolted again, at the instigation of his brother,

David

* Year of Christ, 1277. † Year of Christ, 1281.

David

David, encouraged thereto by a prophecy of Merlin's, that he was destined to be a sovereign of all Britain. The king sent some forces against him, but they being surprised and defeated, he, the next year, marched himself, at the head of an army, into the middle of Wales, and obliged the enemy to retreat into the mountains of Snowden, and deprived them of a relief by sea and land, once more took possession of the isle of Anglesea, and built a bridge over the strait that separates that island from the main, near Bangor. A detachment of the king's forces having marched over this bridge, to survey the country about Snowden, a great number of the Welsh made a sudden incursion from the hills, and forced the English to a hasty retreat. The English in their flight so thronged the bridge, that it broke down, and a great number of them perished. This success so encouraged the Welsh that, quitting the hills, they advanced into the plains, and put the English army to defiance. They now flattered themselves that the time was come when, according to Merlin's prophecy, the ancient Britons were, once more, to have the dominion of the whole island. Lewellin was so infatuated with the same notion, that he ventured a general battle with king Edward, when, very unhappy for him, his army was entirely routed, himself killed, and his country lost. His head was cut off,
crowned

crowned with ivy, and, by the king's orders, set on the tower of London. This victory gave the king entire possession of the country, which he put into such a posture as to prevent all future disturbances, and the next year Wales was incorporated and united with England.

The next war Edward engaged in was with Scotland. Baliol, king of that country, had renounced the sovereignty of the king of England, and bid defiance to him; and got the pope to absolve himself and his nobility from the oaths they had taken to Edward. The latter therefore marched at the head of an army, to Newcastle, where he received intelligence, that the Scots had attacked some English troops that lay upon the borders of the kingdom, and killed a thousand of them. They had besides destroyed part of his fleet, sent out to attend the army in this expedition. Edward marched with a powerful army to Berwick, to which he laid siege, and at last took, by this stratagem: He had continued some days before the town, when he, on a sudden, raised the siege, and marched away; at the same time he ordered some of his men to desert to the town, whom he instructed to tell the town's people, that the approach of king Baliol, with a powerful army, was the occasion of his retreat, and that this relief was very near; almost in sight. The inhabitants, paying credit to this, marched out,

out, with several of the garison, to meet their friends, when on a sudden the English army, which had not quitted the neighbourhood; attacked them, and kept so close up with them, that as they fled into the town they entered it with them, and, having killed a great many of the garrison, got possession of the place.

The king from hence marched to Dunbar, in order to besiege it, when Baliol came up to the relief of it; upon which a battle ensued, but the Scots being defeated, with the loss of above twenty thousand men, the town was obliged to receive the conqueror. Roxborough was next taken, as was also the castle of Edinburgh, after a siege of seven days, Sterling and Perth fell next, and so many other important places, that before the close of the campaign, Baliol himself, and his whole kingdom, were obliged to submit to the conqueror*.

Baliol, with a white wand in his hand, formally surrendered the kingdom of Scotland to king Edward, to be disposed of as he should think fit, the people at the same time engaging to become his faithful subjects. This resignation being drawn up in writing, was signed by king Baliol, and most of the Scotch

• Year of Christ, 1296.

barons,

barons, and sealed with the great seal of that kingdom; and the states of Scotland, in an assembly called by king Edward, at Berwick, confirmed the surrender that had been made, and, together with all the officers and magistrates, swore allegiance to Edward *. Having placed English garrisons and governors in all the castles; and appointed John, earl of Surry and Suffex, viceroy or lieutenant of Scotland; king Edward returned to England in triumph.

Previous to this war with Scotland, a misunderstanding had arose between Edward, and

* Baliol was sent up to London, but had the liberty of ten miles round the city allowed him, to hunt and take his pleasure. He was afterwards removed to Oxford. Several other Scottish lords were carried to England, particularly the earl of Douglas, who had refused to sign the resignation. The famous chair and stone, on which their kings were crowned, were removed to Westminster, as also the crown and sceptre of Scotland, with the rest of the regalia. The Scots had a tradition, that whilst the chair and stone remained amongst them, their country should not be conquered; but on the removal of them there would happen some great revolution. Edward, further to demonstrate his conquest, caused the records of the kingdom to be burnt, and abrogated their ancient laws †.

† Buchanan.

Philip

Philip of France, but the former was so set upon his expedition, against Scotland, to revenge himself on Baliol, that to be at liberty to prosecute it, he yielded several towns in Guienne to Philip, as a security for settling the dispute between them *. But now, finding that Philip had basely refused to restore those towns to him, as he had promised, sent over to Guienne a body of troops, commanded by prince Edmund, to defend the towns yet in his possession; in consequence of which several skirmishes happened, but nothing decisive. At last Edward himself went over †; but being able to carry over but a few troops with him, Philip entered Flanders with sixty thousand men, and having defeated

* This dispute arose in this manner; an English and a Norman sailor falling out, in a sea port town of Guienne, the latter was killed. Upon which the Normans seized an English ship upon their coast, and hanged up the master at the yard-arm. After which the English and Normans had frequent skirmishes at sea, till at last a fleet of sixty large English ships, meeting with two hundred Norman vessels laden with wine, took them all, and carried them to England. For this capture the French king demanded satisfaction. Baliol took this opportunity to propose, secretly, an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, which enraged Edward.

† Year of Christ, 1297.

a body

a body of Forces commanded by the duke of Juliers, in the interest of Edward, took several towns, upon which he concluded a peace with Philip, and returned to England.

In the mean time, one Wallace, a Scot of mean extraction and little fortune, stirred up an insurrection in Scotland; Edward therefore, having summoned all the barons and vassals of the crown to meet him, with their troops, at Carlisle, on Whitfun-eve, marched from thence into the heart of Scotland, and coming up with the enemy near Falkirk, determined to engage them.

But while the king was drawing up his troops, a shout being heard in the enemy's camp, the English immediately flew to their arms, apprehensive of a sudden attack. As the king was hastily putting his foot into the stirrup, his horse, frightened at the noise, threw him, and kicking at him, bruised two of his ribs. However, he proceeded to draw up his army, and falling upon the enemy, who were superior to his army in number, though not in discipline, he entirely defeated them. Sixty thousand of them were killed on the field of battle. The Scots were so confounded at this defeat, that they abandoned their towns and fled for security to the woods and mountains. Edward immediately took care to improve his victory by putting English garisons into the fortified places, and having taken other precautions, returned home. But the

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the Scots, taking advantage of the king's absence, revolted once more, under a new leader, John Cummin, a nobleman of royal extraction. Edward was therefore obliged to return again into Scotland with a very large army, when he entirely routed and dispersed the rebels, such as escaped fled into the mountains and morasses to secure themselves.

By the mediation of the French king, a truce was renewed from time to time between Edward and the Scots, which being expired †, John de Seagrave was sent with a body of troops to harass the Scots, and oblige them to acknowledge Edward as their king. His army was divided into three bodies, one of which the Scots surprised, and took him prisoner; but another part of his army soon rescued him.

The next year Edward marched with a very numerous army into Scotland, when the natives not having a sufficient force to oppose him, he penetrated as far as to Cathness, the furthest northern promontory of the kingdom. The Scots were so greatly distressed that they were obliged to submit to the mercy of the king, who treated them with great clemency. But as Sterling still held out, he ordered it to be invested, which remained

† Year of Christ, 1302.

blocked

blocked up all the winter. The next year* he returned to the siege of it, and in July the garrison was obliged to surrender at discretion. The Scots who had retired to the bogs and mountains, had made incursions, and cut off a great many of the English, and put a great many of them to very cruel deaths; but at last, Wallace their commander, was betrayed to Edward; he tried him as a traitor, and had him changed, and quartered, and thus peace was once more restored.

However the Scots, notwithstanding they had been so often subdued, and even sworn allegiance to Edward, yet rebelled again, under the command of Robert Bruce†, whom they accepted for their king, and crowned at Scone. Edward therefore sent Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke with a good body of troops to suppress this insurrection, and he was so fortunate as to defeat Bruce twice, and forced him to fly to the western islands. The king then advanced with a very powerful army, into Scotland; upon whose approach the Scots retreated to their mountains. The English army dividing into several parties, and spreading themselves over the coun-

* Year of Christ 1303. † Year of Christ 1306.

† Son of one of the same name, who had been competitor with Baliol for the crown of Scotland.

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try, took a great many prisoners, and among others, the three brothers of Bruce, who were afterward beheaded. The king continued in Scotland, determined to finish the conquest of the kingdom. In the winter, Robert Bruce ventured out of his retreat, and surprised, and defeated, a body of troops under the command of the earl of Pembroke. This success led him to attempt the same on those belonging to the earl of Gloucester, but they made good their retreat into the castle of Aire. The king therefore prepared the next summer to put a total end to these disturbances, but while he was preparing for this purpose, he was taken ill; however he moved on to the little town of Burgh, upon the sands in Cumberland, where, being unable to advance further, he rested, and growing worse, died there*. One of his dying commands to his son Edward II, who succeeded him, was that he should continue his march into the middle of Scotland, carry his corps with him, and not celebrate his funerals till he should have entirely subdued the kingdom.

Edward II. accordingly marched with his army towards Dumfries, as if to fulfil his father's injunction, but the French king prevailed on him to conclude a peace with the

* July 7th 1307, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Scots, and solemnize his marriage with Isabella his daughter, to whom he had been contracted in the life-time of his father; upon which the king dismissed his army, and returned to England, and went over to Boloign, where he married the princess Isabella †, and then hastened back to England, and brought over with him his favourite Gaveston †. But he so greatly abused the power the king confided in him, that the barons forced the king to banish him twice, but soon, as before recalled him again, and now many of the bishops and barons resolved to take up arms, and chose the earl of Lancaster. They then dispersed themselves into several parts of the kingdom to raise forces, and with the utmost expedition drew together a great body of troops.

In the mean time, Edward was taking his diversions at York, where he was with his favourite. The confederates marched directly for that place in order to surprize him; but upon notice of their approach, he retired to Newcastle, and not thinking himself safe

† January 22, 1307-8.

† Whilst Edward was at Boloign, he, contrary to the dying command of his dying father, and his own oath, recalled his favourite Gaveston, who afterwards becoming his prime minister, rendered the king odious to his people.

there,

there, left it in haste, and shut himself up with Gaveston, in Scarborough-castle; from whence he went into Warwickshire to raise troops, but it was now too late. The barons entered Newcastle the day the king had left it, and seized his and Gaveston's rich equipages, which in their hurry they had left behind. The king left Gaveston in Scarborough castle, as thinking he was there most secure: but the barons laying siege to it, it surrendered in a few days. Gaveston had capitulated to see the king, and be tried by his peers; which was promised him; but he was carried off to Warwick-castle, by the earl of Warwick, and there, after a hasty trial, beheaded.

The king was pursued by the barons, and retired to London; where thinking himself not safe, he went to Canterbury. Shortly after, an accommodation was effected.

The disputes afterwards about Gaveston, gave Robert Bruce an opportunity to make further progress. He entered England twice, and returned with great booty. He recovered several strong places from the English, and the Isle of Man submitted to him †. He sent Edward his brother to besiege Sterling, the strongest place in Scotland, and the only one that remained in the hands of the Eng-

† Year of Christ, 1313.

lish. After a brave defence, the governor capitulated to surrender the town in a year, if it was not relieved before.

In the mean time king Edward, at the head of an hundred thousand men, entered Scotland, and advanced within view of Sterling; where Robert waited his coming at the head of thirty thousand. And now was fought the ever memorable battle of Banockbourn, June 25th, in which, notwithstanding the great inequality of numbers, the English army was totally routed, with a most dreadful slaughter. The earl of Gloucester, a great many other lords, and above seven hundred knights lay dead on the field of battle. Edward hastily retreated into England with the remains of his shattered army, and Scotland after this had peace for several years.

But Bruce continued to make several incursions into England, and ravaged the borders in a terrible manner. He besieged and took Berwick. Edward attempted to recover it, but was soon obliged to raise the siege; and afterwards a two years truce was agreed upon between the two kingdoms. About four years after †, king Edward having got the better of his barons, marched his army into Scotland; but for want of provisions was forced once more to retreat. Ro-

|| Year of Christ 1314. † Year of Christ 1323.

Robert pursued him so closely, that he overtook him at Blackmore, where Edward's baggage fell into his hands, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. The English army being dispersed, Robert marched on, ravaged the country to the very walls of York, and then returned laden with spoils; and at last agreed to a truce for thirteen years.

The lords, ever jealous of the king, introduced into court, a young gentleman, named Hugh Spencer, and got him made high-chamberlain, that he might be a spy upon the king. But he soon found the art of insinuating himself so into the king's affection, that from a spy, he became his confidant, and possessed the place of Gaveston in his heart, and made as bad a use of his power; and having got his father made earl of Winchester, these two ministers had now the whole management of affairs in their hands. This caused great murmuring and discontent in the nation: the barons levied troops with great expedition, and Roger Mortimer was sent to plunder the lands of the Spencer's.

The barons being thus in a condition to stand their ground, so vigorously petitioned for the removal of the Spencers, that the king durst not oppose their demands: and the parliament being met, passed an act for their banishment, which was accordingly put in execution.

But

But the queen, having received some affront from the governor of Leeds, which belonging to one of the associated barons, she so spurred on the king to revenge against their whole body, that under pretence of punishing one private person, he raised an army, besieged and took the castle of Leeds, and hanged up the governor; and then turned his arms against the whole body of the confederates. He took Warwick castle and some others, and then thinking himself strong enough to stand against all his opposers, he recalled the two Spencer's, who ceased not to stir him up to further revenge. Most of the confederate barons threw themselves upon the king's mercy. The earl of Lancaster, with what troops he could raise, retired into the north, in order to join the Scots; but being pursued, was taken and beheaded at Pontefract. Many others were executed, in so much that it is observed by historians, that so much English blood had never been spilt on the scaffold since the Norman conquest.

But it is besides the purpose of this work, to pursue this subject further, and as the remainder of this king's reign, affords nothing suitable to our main design, I shall only observe that Edward appears to have grown unhappy from this time, till at last by the intrigues of the infamous queen, he was obliged

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obliged to resign his crown § to his son Edward III. about eight months after which he was cruelly murdered in his bed.

King Edward III. at the beginning of his reign had been induced, by the artifices of the queen-mother Isabella, and her minion Mortimer, to conclude a dishonourable treaty of peace with Scotland, but having now got rid of them, and at liberty to act for himself, his first attempt was upon Scotland. For this purpose, he secretly employed Edward Baliol, son of John Baliol, whom Edward I. had made king of Scotland. Robert Bruce, late king of Scotland was dead, and had left a minor, David Bruce. Baliol therefore at the instigation of Edward, came over from France, and landed at Kinghorn near Perth †, with a small army accompanied by several English noblemen, and immediately sent away the ship that brought them, that none might think of retreating, but manfully maintain the cause they had undertaken.

They were immediately attacked by Sir Alexander Seaton, at the head of 10,000 Scots, but these being undisciplined men, were easily

§ January 22. 1326-7, in the forty-third year of his age; having reigned nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days.

† Year of Christ, 1331.

defeated, as were soon afterwards three, or four, other bodies, some of them consisting of a much greater number than the first. This success brought many of the Scots over to Baliol, the city of Perth surrendered, and Baliol was crowned king at Scone, and did the same homage to king Edward for Scotland, as his father had done to Edward I.

Edward raised an army on pretence of appeasing some troubles in Ireland; but presently throwing off the mask, marched it towards Scotland, and laid siege to Berwick. The regent whom king David had left in Scotland, advanced with a great army to its relief; but Edward met him at Halydon-Hill, and in a bloody battle *, entirely routed him: after which Berwick surrendered, which Edward annexed for ever to the crown of England.

King Edward, at his return from Scotland, left Baliol with a body of troops to complete its reduction. But the voluntary homage he had paid, and the many places he had given up to Edward, besides Berwick, so exasperated the Scots, that the next year they rose against him, and coming upon him unawares, totally routed him, and drove him

* Year of Christ, 1333.

out of the kingdom. Hereupon Edward marched again into Scotland with a numerous army, but the Scots were so encamped, that he could not attack them. He passed the winter at Roxbourg, and in the spring ||, attacked Scotland by sea and land, and advanced as far as the northern ocean. He staid some time at Perth, whilst the earl of Cornwall ravaged the western counties. Before the end of the year, the Scots finding that Edward was fully resolved to continue the war, most of them submitted; and then he returned to England, leaving the earl of Athol to command in his absence; who, as he was besieging Kildrummy, was attacked, defeated and slain by Dunbar and Douglas, who marched to the relief of the place. This occasioned Edward to march once more into Scotland, where he ravaged the counties that had revolted, and in his return burnt Aberdeen to ashes. Then leaving a small army under Baliol, he came back to England, being now bent upon putting his project against France in execution. In which project he was encouraged by Robert d'Artois.

He now created his eldest son prince Edward †, duke of Cornwall. Edward having

|| Year of Christ, 1335.

† He was born the fifteenth of June, 1330, afterwards stiled the black prince.

made vast preparations, and entered into several powerful alliances, the first step he took was to order the duke of Brabant, one of his allies, to demand the crown of France in his name, at the same time making him his lieutenant-general for that kingdom, and commanding the French whom he stiled his subjects to obey him. He set sail from England* with a considerable fleet, and arrived at Antwerp, where he made a long stay, to settle some matters of importance to his grand design. The first campaign was not opened till September §, when Edward put himself at the head of forty thousand men, and ended without any bloodshed.

The next year, Edward took the title of king of France. He soon after obtained a great victory over the French at sea; for with a fleet of three hundred sail, attacking the French fleet of four hundred, on the coast of Flanders, he took, or sunk, them all except thirty. Then landing his forces, he went and laid siege to Tournay; but the French army advancing to its relief, so harrassed the besiegers, that Edward could make little, or no, progress in the siege. At length a truce was agreed upon between the two parties, which was to last from the twentieth of Sep-

* Year of Christ 1338. § Year of Christ 1339.
tember,

tember, to the twenty-fifth of June, and was succeeded by another truce for three years.

Whilst king Edward was in France, Robert Stuart, regent of Scotland for king David, gained great advantages over Baliol. He took Perth, and forced Baliol to retire to the borders; and some time after he became master of Sterling. Edward being returned into England, upon the truce made with France, resolved once more to invade Scotland by sea and land; but his fleet suffering by a violent storm, prevented him. Soon after king David being furnished with men and money by the king of France, returned to Scotland, and having got together a considerable army, marched towards the frontiers, and proceeded as far as Durham, which he besieged and took, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. In his return he made an attempt upon Werk-castle, belonging to the countess of Salisbury; but the news of Edward's approach made him desist. Being come to the castle the very day that David marched off. He marched in quest of the Scots the next day, but hearing they were retired to Gedeo's forest, he left off the pursuit. And soon after being intent upon continuing his French war, he offered David a truce for two years, which he accepted.

Edward made great preparations to renew the war with France, as soon as the truce

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should

should be expired. But Philip † hastened it on, by seizing and beheading several lords of Bretaign; by which action, Edward maintained the truce was broken. He therefore appointed the earl of Northampton his lieutenant-general in France, commanding him to defy Philip in his name, and to declare war against him. He first sent over Henry of Lancaster earl of Darby, who made a great progress in Guienne; but the vigorous efforts of the duke of Normandy put a stop to it, and forced him to retreat. Upon this, Edward landed in Normandy ‡, with his son the prince of Wales, who was now to make his first campaign, being about sixteen years old. He ravaged the country in a terrible manner through which he passed, burning and plundering every thing that came in his way, till he came to Poissy, within fifteen miles of Paris, from whence he sent detachments to the very walls of the city, with orders to set fire to the neighbouring villages. King Philip, though he saw from the walls of his capital, his country thus destroyed, could not be provoked to engage the invaders, as he was not yet joined by his allies.

† Philip de Valois. was cousin German to the deceased king of France, and put in his claim to the regency of France, which was opposed.

‡ Year of Christ, 1346.



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This army which kept along the east side of the river Seine, as the English did by the west, had destroyed all the bridges on the river to prevent a surprise. But Edward repaired the bridge of Poissy, and, notwithstanding the opposition he met with, crossed it. From thence he continued his march towards Calais, still burning and destroying all before him. Edward having done all he could to provoke Philip to a battle, by burning his country and sending him challenges, Philip at last sent to let him know, on the seventeenth of August, that if he would forbear burning the country, he would meet, and give him battle the next Thursday, or on the Saturday, Sunday, or Monday, following. Edward was at this time at a fine abbey near Beauvois, from whence he marched next morning.

Philip having now assembled most of his troops, and being joined by his allies, among whom were German, and Low Country, troops, and general Doria with fifteen thousand Genoese crossbows, advanced as far as Amiens. He broke down all the bridges on the river Somme, to stop king Edward's march to Calais. and intending to dispute the passage with him, fortified every ford upon the river. Yet the English made several attempts to pass the river, but it was so well guarded that they could not effect it; till a French prisoner tempted by a great reward, showed

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them a ford below Abbeville, that was very shallow at low water. This ford was advantageously defended on the opposite side by Gondemar de Fay, with twelve thousand of Philip's best troops. However Edward, determined to attempt the passage, marched with his whole army all night with such expedition, that he reached the ford by break of day, that the French troops might not have time to bring down all their troops with them, and so attack him before he could get over. At ebb tide, the king drew up his whole army, and began to pass the river. But as they were in the water, they met with a warm attack from Gondemar, and a sharp engagement ensued. However the English cut their way through the enemy, and killed the greater part of them, though not without some loss from the van-guard of the French army, which reached the ford before all the English were got over †. As soon as Edward was landed, the French marched back again to Abbeville, to a bridge they had there over the Somne. Edward therefore marched to the forrest of Cressy, in Ponthieu, where, as the French had given

† It is said king Edward offered Philip a free passage over the ford, if he would give him battle, but the French generals did not think fit to accept of it.



The Battle of Cressy 1346



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out he fled before them, he waited till they came up to him.

Edward was very advantageously encamped, his flanks were secured by a river, and large ditches, or intrenchment, and his rear by a wood, between which and the army he made an enclosure. In which he placed all his carriages, provisions and horses ||.

The English army consisted of thirty-thousand men, divided into three battallions. As the French army was yet at some distance, king Edward ordered his troops to refresh themselves about nine in the morning, and then lie down upon their arms in their ranks.

The French army which consisted of an hundred thousand men, began their march from Abbeville*, at sun rise. When they were advanced two leagues, their generals began to form them in order of battle, drawing them up into nine large battalions, or lines. It being noon, Philip advised they should halt, to refresh themselves, and not begin the battle till the next day, but the young noblemen rashly trusting to their superiority in number, were in haste to begin

* About nine miles distant from the English camp.

|| For it is said, that the men of arms on that day dismounted and fought on foot.

the engagement. The Genoese left the field abruptly, and the duke of Alenzon, having attacked the body commanded by the prince of Wales, Philip was obliged to march to support him.

The battle begun about four in the afternoon §, the French being much superior in numbers to the English. The situation of the ground was such, that the latter could not extend their front beyond that of the enemy, or attack them in front, or rear, so that the body commanded by Edward prince of Wales, fought with the duke of Alenzon upon equal terms. The duke indeed had this advantage, that as his troops were cut off, he could fill up their posts with others, so that the black prince had, as one may say, a growing enemy to encounter. Insomuch that the earls of Arundel and Northampton, who commanded the second line, were obliged to advance to support the prince. But other troops still advancing against him, the generals thought it necessary to send for further assistance from the king, who commanded the third line, or battalion; but the king who stood on a hill, being better able to view the field, and judge of the circumstances of the battle, saw the prince did not need any assistance, and therefore would do nothing

§ Aug. 26. 1346.

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that might diminish the honour he saw his son was about to reap.

The earl of Alenzon, brother to the French king, was killed in the first charge he made, which threw the body he commanded into confusion. The next body that advanced, prince Edward dispersed by the second line of the English, which advanced to his assistance. These by their united force, repelled Philip, who charged at the head, of a third body, of horse, with the old king of Bohemia, who was blind. King Philip, though he had received two wounds, and was twice dismounted, was unwilling to go off with the French who fled*. In the last charge the king of Bohemia was killed. His standard, which was embroidered with Ostrich feathers, had this motto, ICH DIEN, "I serve," was taken by the black prince, who afterwards bore three ostrich's feathers in his coronet with the same motto †. Among

* Philip escaped out of the field the night the battle was fought, with about sixty horse, and arriving at the castle of Bray, the governor demanding who he was; he answered, "the fortune of France," and was let in. When he had taken some refreshment, he went on to Amiens, and from thence to Paris.

† These are to this day usually called the prince of Wales's arms.

those killed in the field were, the king of Majorca, the earls of Blois and Flanders, the duke of Lorraine, the Dauphin of Vienne, Antonio Doria, general of the Genoese, and the earl of Harcourt, fifteen other great lords, twelve thousand knights, and four thousand men at arms, besides common soldiers ||; on the part of the English, the loss was very inconsiderable, and not one nobleman.

King Edward having congratulated his son on their victory, ordered the same night a thanksgiving for it; and on the returning morning, sent out large detachments of horse to pursue the enemy in their flight. These met with several entire bodies who were coming to join the French army. The English attacked them with so much vigour, and killed such vast numbers of them, that the French suffered as great a loss on the second, as on the first day. And the slaughter was the greater, because as the French,

|| A modern French historian *, in order to remove the disgrace of his countrymen, says the English made use of cannon in this battle, but no historian of that time mentions them; nor does it appear that they had ever been used in any battle then.

* Mezeray.

vainly

vainly confident of success, had ordered no quarter to be given, the English observed the same order, and the rather so, because their army was not numerous enough to spare guards for their prisoners. The next day being Sunday, king Edward ordered the field of battle to be surveyed, when it was found that the French had lost, besides the noblemen and men at arms already mentioned, thirty thousand men, a number equal to the whole English army.

The next day * king Edward continued his march towards Calais, burning all the country as he passed on.

On the last day of August, or the seventh of September, he invested the town of Calais, having first summoned the governor to surrender it to him; which he refused. But finding the place well fortified, and the winter approaching, he determined to turn the siege into a blockade, that he might starve them out. He accordingly threw up his lines of circumvallation at some distance, and erected little houses and huts upon them, for the convenience of his men. At the same time he blocked up the town by sea, with seven hundred sail of Ships.

The governor, sensible that at last he should be obliged to give up the place for

* Monday, Aug. 26.

want of provision; to avoid which, as long as he could, sent out of the town all the useless mouths. These, amounting to no less than seventeen hundred, king Edward, according to the laws of war, might have driven back into the town. But he treated them in a more noble manner; for he ordered a dinner to be prepared for them, distributed money among them, and let them go in safety into the neighbouring countries. As to the English camp, there was the greatest plenty in it, having regular markets, as in a great town, through their communication with the sea, and with the Flemmings, who were in friendship with them*.

To

* I cannot help relating here an instance of great honour and honesty in one of king Edward's officers, worthy of imitation. Whilst the king was engaged at the siege of Calais, the earl of Derby marched into Poictou, ravaged the country, and took several towns, particularly one where the French king had a mint for coining money. Here, to encourage his men to behave gallantly, he promised every one what money he could sieze. This so animated the men that the town was taken by storm. When a Welsh knight discovering a vast sum of money, went and acquainted the earl with it, not imagining it could be his intention that such a treasure should be possessed by a private person, notwithstanding the

To divert Edward from the siege of Calais, Philip induced David Bruce, king of Scotland, to break the truce with England, sent him over money, and several thousand Genoese mercenaries. Accordingly all the vassals of the crown meeting, by summons, at a general rendezvous marched with sixty thousand men, into England, destroying all the country as they advanced with fire and sword, except two, or three towns which they spared to lay up magazines in them; Durham was one. Thus far they proceeded almost without opposition.

But now queen Philippa, with the generals Edward sent over to her, came to York, with sixteen thousand veteran troops. The English army advanced till they came within three miles of Durham, where they stopt, and drew up in battalia, dividing their forces into four bodies, each consisting of four thousand men; three of these bodies formed a line, and the fourth composed a reserve, commanded by Baliol; the queen had besides a particular guard for herself. Several spiritual

the general promise that had been made, but the noble earl told him, he wished him joy of his prize, and if it had been as much more he should have had it, he would touch none of it, for he regarded his word and honour beyond any sum whatever.

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as well as temporal, lords commanded in this army. The Scotch army was divided into three bodies, one of which was commanded by king David, attended by the principal Scotch nobility, and French auxiliaries. The Scots had no troops to oppose the English body of reserve, for as they kept out of fight, they were not aware of them.

The English extended their front equal to that of the Scots. The engagement begun at Nevil's point, near Durham*, between the English archers, and the Genoese cross-bowmen, who succeeded no better than they did at Cressy. As they were retreating, lord Robert Stuart on the part of the Scotch, and lord Piercy on that of the English, engaged with their men at arms, hand to hand, and maintained an obstinate fight; when king Baliol advanced to the assistance of Piercy, with his body of reserve, and so broke the Scots, that they were forced to retreat, but the English did not think proper to pursue them, as the other divisions of the Scots remained unbroken. Baliol next attacked the division commanded by his rival, king David, in flank, who being already pressed in front, was soon put into confusion; the bad success of these two bodies so intimidated the third division, that they made a precipitate flight.

* The 17th of October, 1346.

The loss of the Scotch was very great, fifteen thousand killed in the field of battle, besides a great number of prisoners; king David was wounded twice, and at last taken prisoner, as were also several of his nobility. David was afterwards sent to the tower.

As Edward still continued before Calais, the queen, and several great ladies, whose husbands were in the English camp, went over to Calais. Whilst Edward was here, the Flemmings were of great service to him. The king at last being in want of supplies, sent to England for some; instead of which the commons sent him back a roll of their grievances, however, they afterwards granted him a little money, and the prince of Wales, then in England, and the earl of Lancaster, by the king's orders, raised him some soldiers to reinforce his army *.

* About this time, the Scots being greatly humbled by their late defeat, king Baliol, with an army of twenty thousand men, advanced into the middle of the country, and forced them once more to acknowledge him for their king; but they obtained a years truce of him, on paying nine thousand pounds sterling; however, this would not have been agreed to, had not the state of king Edward's affairs rendered it inconvenient to spare the troops any longer.

Whilst

Whilst the king was carrying on the siege of Calais, he sent Sir Thomas Dugworth his captain-general into Bretagne, who attacked, and took the town of Roche D'Arienne, upon which Charles de Blois laid siege to the place with a great army; confident he should recover the town by means of some prodigious engines * with which he battered the walls of the town. As soon as Sir Thomas Dugworth was acquainted with the distressed state of the besieged, he got together all the troops he could, and hastened to their assistance. But finding the enemy too strongly entrenched to be forced, he ordered a detachment of his army to attack a particular part of their camp one evening, and then to retreat, as if beaten, in order to draw the enemy from their intrenchment: But this party finding an easier entrance than they expected, rashly ventured so far into the camp, that they were surrounded, and most of them cut off. The English general therefore made another attack the next morning, while the enemy were asleep and weary with their late fatigue, when the besieged making a sally at the same time, they were entirely defeated †. Charles de Blois, his two sons, a great many noblemen, and five hundred

* These are supposed to be cannon.

† June 20. 1347.

men at arms were taken prisoners, besides a vast number slain, though their army was twice the number of the English.

As the Flemmings continued to render all the service they could to king Edward, Philip sent his son John, duke of Normandy, to chastise them, who invested Cassel. He had not lain long there, before the Flemmings joined their forces with the English, and forced him to raise the siege. John afterwards attempted to take the town of Lilers, but with as little success. Edward still vigorously continued the siege of Calais; in which he used battering engines, casting huge stones into the place, and demolishing the buildings. The besieged being now greatly distressed for provisions, the French admiral determined to throw relief into the place at all hazards; and accordingly having engaged the English fleet, he sent at the same time, a great many boats towards the town; laden with provisions; but most of them were intercepted, and taken by the English. However, thirty Norman vessels, carrying provision to the town, had better luck, and got back again with little loss. But to prevent the place from receiving any new supply, Edward ordered the mouth of the harbour to be quite blocked up. Twenty sail of stout French ships and twelve Genoese gallies, attempting to break through, most of them were taken,
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or sunk, and not one of them got into the town:

Edward however was frequently harrassed by the French, and his camp alarmed, and many desperate sallies were made from the town, in one of which he himself had like to have been taken. His army suffered much from the unwholesomeness of the soil, and a sickness prevailed among the common men. The besieged being now so closely blocked up, that they could receive no supplies, some attempts were made by the French to force the English camp. John duke of Normandy, came with a considerable army; and surveying the lines, and several times, by the movements he made, seemed as if he intended to attack the camp, upon which Edward sent again to England for supplies.

In the interim, the people of Calais sent a letter to their king, informing him of their great distress, and that they were almost famished, having eaten their horses, dogs, and rats, and that they had nothing now to feed on but one another, and therefore, if not relieved very soon, must surrender. This letter being intercepted by the English, Edward enclosed it in another to Philip, desiring he would hasten to the relief of the good people of Calais Philip returned for answer, that he should quickly come and view the posture of the English camp, and soon after, sent to the Flem-

Flemmings to desire a passage for his army through their country, but being refused, took the rout by Bologn. In the mean time, the Flemmings, having got together an hundred thousand of their militia, invested the city of Aire, upon the Lys, and at the same time plundred and burnt the French frontiers as far as to St. Omer's; but as soon as Philip advanced towards them, raised the siege of Aire, and retreated back into their own country. The French king's army was no less than two hundred thousand men, including his allies, and being come within sight of Calais, and Edward's camp, drew up in battalia*. Philip finding upon a careful examination, that it would be extremely hazardous to attack the English entrenchments, endeavoured to induce Edward to come out of them, by sending a challenge to him, and offering to fight him on any day he should choose, in the open field. To which Edward replied, "that he had lain near a year before Calais, and was upon the point of reducing it by famine, and therefore should not quit the advantageous post he possessed, to give his enemies an opportunity of relieving the town. But if they thought proper to attack him where he lay, they might, at their peril, do so." Philip being thus disconcerted

* July 30. 1347.

endeavoured to procure a peace, or at least a truce, to treat about which he sent two cardinals to Edward, directing them to offer Guienne, Ponthieu, and Calais; but Edward dismissed the cardinals, three days after their coming, telling them, that these places were already in a manner in his power.

Edward, in the mean time, receiving a reinforcement from England, contemptuously sent Philip word, that if he would be at the charge of levelling the trenches himself, he would give him battle. To this Philip returned no answer, but decamped in haste, when part of the English army pursuing him as he retreated, took part of his provisions and baggage. The town, now seeing itself abandoned, hung out a flag, and offered to surrender, provided their lives might be spared, and they allowed to march with their clothes on their back. Edward for some time refused to grant any terms, insisting they should submit to his mercy. But his generals, prudently representing to him that the same treatment might another time be retaliated on them, the king at last consented, that if six of the chief citizens would come to him, in their shirts, bare-headed, and bare-footed, with halters about their necks, and the keys of Calais in their hands, and submit themselves to his mercy, he would spare the rest. This being told in an assembly of the citizens, most of them were confounded, and lamented

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ed their rigid fate, till one of the magistrates, Eustace de St. Pierre, arose, and said, "It would be great cruelty to suffer so many Christians to perish either by sword, or famine, when there was any means to save them, and he was thoroughly persuaded, that if any man could contribute to prevent so great a calamity, it would be a very acceptable piece of service in the sight of God, and that himself would be the first who should offer his head to the king of England, as a willing sacrifice for his dear country." The whole assembly was struck with the greatness of his soul, and, influenced by his noble example, five more of the most considerable citizens, declared themselves ready to join with him, and share his fate.

These six citizens were accordingly conducted by the governor of the town, with halters about their necks, and the keys of the town, to the English camp. When they came into the king's presence, they employed his mercy on their knees. But Edward, greatly exasperated at the Calaisians, gave orders that their heads should be immediately struck off. The prince of Wales, and the nobility present interfered in their favour, humbly representing to him that it would be a great diminution of the glory he had acquired, to put to death six brave men who voluntarily submitted as a sacrifice to redeem their fellow citizens. But the king
deaf

to their intreaties, impatiently cried out for the executioner; saying, "their deaths was too small a sacrifice for the manes of his good subjects, who had perished by their hands."

All were now silently beholding this moving scene, when the queen, great with child, fell on her knees before the king, her husband, intreating him by the love of Christ, and the regard he had for her, to spare these miserable men. This moved the king, who, dropping his resentment, consigned the prisoners to the queen, to be disposed of at her pleasure*.

The king the same day †, sent a detachment to take possession of the town. The booty they found in it was very considerable. The citizens by the king's orders, were plentifully relieved with provisions; but the kindness hereby intended them, had a very unhappy effect upon some of them, through their long abstinence, for three hundred of them died within four and twenty hours.

* This behaviour of the king was contrary to that of the French, during this war, who both before and after this affair, never saved the life of a single man, where any fortress surrendered at discretion.

† Aug. 4. 1347, after a siege of near eleven months.

The

The soldiers were permitted to go where they pleased, but the remaining citizens, with their governor, were sent prisoners to London. The inhabitants being thus disposed of, Edward granted most of the lands to his great officers, repeopling it with merchants, tradesmen, and artificers. Thirty-six families of substantial tradesmen, came from London, and settled here afterwards: but the greater part of this new colony were from Kent*.

A truce was soon after concluded between England and France for a short time, and Edward returned to England. This truce was renewed from time to time, during which period nothing very material happened; but at last both parties prepared again for war†. When the prince of Wales was sent over to Gascony, with a formidable fleet and army, whilst the king proposed to land in Normandy, and join the king of Navarre, who had undertaken to raise an insurrection in that province, in favour of the English, but instead of landing in Normandy, Edward went over to Calais. John, king of France, as-

* Calais continued in the possession of the English above two hundred years; till the time of queen Mary.

† Year of Christ, 1355. John II. being now king of France.

sembled a very powerful army to oppose him, and so ravaged the country; that the English could not long subsist there, this, together with the Scots having invaded the English borders, and taken Berwick, made king Edward return back to England.

As to prince Edward, he did not arrive in Gascony till winter, however, he marched from Bourdeaux at the head of sixty thousand men; whereupon the French generals retreated, and put most of their troops into fortified towns, whilst the prince continued his march through the southern parts of France, burning and plundering all the country before him. Having wasted the country of Thoulouse, he marched forward to the Mediterranean sea, making himself master of Narbonne and Carcassone, but as they were too far from the English frontiers to be maintained, he plundered and burnt them both.

In the mean time, king Edward retook Berwick, after which Baliol, being grown old, resigned the kingdom of Scotland, to king Edward*: but the country refusing to submit to king Edward, he laid it waste.

To

* This resignation was made and sealed with the great seal of Scotland, the twenty-fifth of January, 1356, when Baliol also delivered Edward

To return to prince Edward; whilst he was ravaging the country of Auvergn, Limousin, and Berry, king John pursued him in hopes of cutting off his retreat, before he could reach Languedoc. The prince, being apprised that the king was so near, could not avoid coming to an action, entrenched himself in an advantageous camp, defended by thick hedges and vineyards, in the fields between Beauvoir, and Maupertuis, two little leagues from Poictieres, determined there to wait the coming of the enemy. On Saturday †, the French army consisting of sixty thousand men, twenty thousand of whom were horse armed cap-a-pee, were seen in full march, the next day the French drew up in three great lines, the first was commanded by Philip, duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second by Charles the dauphin, and his two brothers, Lewis duke of Anjou, and John duke of Berry, assisted by the most experienced generals; the third was led by the French king in person, consisting of forty

ward the crown of Scotland, and gave him seizin and possession of the kingdom, in consideration whereof, king Edward made him a present of five thousand marks, besides an annuity of two thousand and fifty pounds.

† September 27. 1356.

thousand picked men, eight thousand of whom were men at arms.

King John was informed by his generals, that the English had two thousand men at arms, four thousand archers, and one thousand five hundred others, as well as they could reconnoitre them; that their entrenchment was very strong, and secured by hedges and bushes, so lined with archers, as to be inaccessible, without exposing their flanks to their shots, and that there was but one very narrow pass by which they could be attacked, within which were placed their main body of men at arms, on foot, with a body of archers, drawn up in manner of a herse, before them. Upon this the French held a council of war, in which it was agreed their men at arms should likewise fight on foot, except a select body of three hundred, who were to begin the charge on horseback, and try to disorder the English archers. A body of German cuirassiers, were also appointed, as a body of reserve, to watch the course of the battle, and support such troops as should be disordered. King John, besides his own army, had with him several bodies of Germans, under the command of the earls of Saltburgh, Neydo, and Nassau, and three thousand led by the earl of Douglas.

Prince Edward's was not above eight thousand strong, but this little body, posted with all imaginable advantage, boldly stood ready

The Battle of Tewkesbury 1356





to receive the enemy. At this juncture, a cardinal arrived in the English camp to propose a reconciliation, to which the prince replied, he should not be averse to it, provided he might have honourable terms. But king John imagining his enemies were already in his power, haughtily demanded that the English should surrender themselves prisoners of war, and that four of the English generals should be delivered up to him, to be treated at his pleasure. But this demand was nobly rejected by the prince; who now in his turn offered to restore all the towns he had taken in this expedition, to release the six thousand prisoners he had, and to oblige himself not to bear arms against France for seven years. But these terms were rejected by the French, who obstinately insisted, that the prince and an hundred officers of distinction should yield themselves prisoners of war, on which condition they promised to permit the rest of the army to march to Bourdeaux, otherwise, "they would," said they, "take the advantage God had put in their hands, and sacrifice every one of them." But their confident presumption of victory, did not intimidate the heroic prince of Wales, who replied, "that he still hoped to be victorious; but if not, he chose rather to die in arms, than to submit to such dishonourable terms."

Nothing now remained but to prepare for battle, when Edward taking notice of an hill,

near his camp, covered with thick vines and bushes, ordered three hundred men at arms, and the same number of archers to conceal themselves there, till they should see the armies engaged, and then to attack the French in flank, or rear, as they should see best. As the French did not discover this ambuscade, it succeeded so well, that the defeat they afterwards met with, was owing to it in a great degree. The three hundred Frenchmen at arms, mentioned before, begun the battle. They charged the English archers with great bravery, but were so disordered by the enclosures, and the arrows that galled their horses on every side, that they were forced back on the first line. This being observed by the party in ambuscade, they attacked the enemy in flank, and threw them into very great confusion. The prince took this opportunity to advance and charge their second line, who, with the Dauphin, and two of his brother's at their head, soon fled. However, the main body, commanded by the king, remained entire. But the two first lines being defeated and fled, Edward united all his forces, and briskly attacked the main body, and so intimidated the young nobility, who had never been in a battle before, that they quitted the king; but some few brave men who staid with him, maintained the fight on foot, till the royal standard was beat down, and the standard-bearer with most of the knights, who fought nobly to defend their

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sovereign, were cut in pieces. King John now found himself obliged to surrender, upon which there was much contention, about the honour of taking him, which was adjudged afterwards to a French knight of Picardy, in the English service, named Sir Dennis de Morbeck †.

Few of the French remaining on the field, prince Edward set up his standard, and founded a retreat, not thinking it prudent to pursue the enemy with the few men he had, especially considering the great charge of prisoners that he had to take care of; many of whom he suffered to go home on their parole of honour. His royal prisoner he treated with great humanity, attended on him at supper that evening in his own tent, as if he had been his sovereign, and endeavoured by the most obliging and polite conversation, to divert his mind from such disagreeable ideas, as at such a time could not but too naturally arise in his mind.

This important battle lasted only four hours, from nine in the morning till one in the afternoon. The French lost two dukes, nineteen earls, five, or six, thousand barons, knights, and men at arms, and eight thousand common soldiers. Besides the French king, and his son Philip, there were made

† The prince rewarded him with eight thousand crowns.

prisoners seventeen earls, and fifteen hundred barons, knights and 'squires, as to the common soldiers, they were only disarmed and sent home. There were taken one hundred colours and standards, with all their tents, baggage and carriages. The prince, according to his usual piety, ordered a thanksgiving the day after the battle, and did not neglect rewarding his soldiers, for their great bravery. He then marched slowly with his prisoners and spoils to Bourdeaux *; which he reached the beginning of October †.

The next spring ‡ the prince set sail, with the king and the rest of the prisoners, for England with a strong convoy, having re-

* The capital of the dutchy of Guienne.

† When king Edward heard of his son's extraordinary success, he behaved with great moderation, and was far from insulting over his rival, now in his power, but reflecting on the vicissitudes of human affairs, and the prince's deliverance from so formidable a power which had surrounded him, ordered a thanksgiving, and a procession and prayers for ten days afterwards, for the souls of those who fell in the battle. But the common people could not conceal their joy, the conduits run with wine, festivity, music, and dancing, lasted for several days, and in songs, repeated the brave actions of their countrymen.

‡ April 24. 1357.

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ceived intelligence that the French designed to intercept his passage, and rescue their king. However, he got safe over the sea, and landed at Sandwich the fifth of May, and carried his prisoners to Canterbury, and on the twenty-fourth, made his triumphant entry into London. He ordered the French king to be mounted on a large white horse dressed with furniture and equipage equal to a sovereign, whilst himself rode by him on a little black pad, like one of his retinue. Having in this manner, marched through the numerous crowds, assembled from all parts of the kingdom, to Westminster, he presented king John, with the rest of the prisoners, to his father king Edward, who was seated on the throne at the upper end of the hall in the utmost splendor, before whom the royal captive bowed himself as he approached the steps, the king of England immediately descended, and taking the monarch by the hand, saluted him, and placed him by him. A magnificent entertainment was afterwards provided, at which the two kings, the prince, the English nobility, and the prisoners of distinction, dined in the hall as at a coronation.

The French king resided in the palace of the Savoy, and a truce † being soon after agreed

* This truce was to last till the 24th of June 1359, for their respective territories, only it was

agreed on between the two monarchs, king John had the privilege of the castle of Windsor, and of hawking and hunting in the neighbouring forest.

The next year the two kings treated personally about peace, and agreed upon some conditions, but the states of France thinking them too disadvantageous, would not ratify them: upon which king Edward prepared to renew the war with more vigour than ever, and went over to Calais * with an army of an hundred thousand men, with an intent to subdue that miserable kingdom. After an unsuccessful attempt upon Rheims, he took Sens, and ravaged France to the very gates of Paris; but could by no means draw Charles the dauphin, and regent, out to an engagement, who kept himself shut up within the walls, prudently avoiding a battle, till Edward's army being greatly reduced by sickness, and wearied out with fruitless attempts, consented to a treaty of peace, which was concluded at a village called Bretigny †, in which it was agreed that the king of France should pay three millions of crowns of gold for his ransom, and that the king of England should hold Guienne, Poictou,

provided that the Navarrais, in Normandy, should be allowed to prosecute the war there.

* Year of Christ, 1360. † May 8. 1360.
Sain-

Saintonge, Perigord, Montreuil and its territories, Guisnes, Ponthieu, Calais town, castle and territory, &c. In consequence of this, king John was set at liberty, and soon put Edward in possession of the countries assigned him by the said treaty.

The prosperity of king Edward continued for many years, till it was at last embittered by domestic troubles, from the death of some of his children *, and the loss of all his acquisitions in France, Calais excepted, the loss of which he did not long survive †. He was succeeded by his grandson Richard II. son of the black prince, born at Bourdeaux, now about eleven years old.

On the sixteenth of July, twenty-four days after Edward's death, young Richard was crowned without any opposition. The truce with France was expired near three months before Edward's death. The king of France was making vast preparations to complete the expulsion of the English out of all the places they held in France; whilst at the end of the last reign, and at the begin-

* Particularly Edward the black prince, June, 8. 1376.

† He died at Sheen, now Richmond, June 21. 1377. in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and fifty-first of his reign.

ning of this, the English seemed wholly unconcerned about the war. And so, whilst five armies were employed in different places to finish the work in France, the French made several descents upon England, burnt Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth and Plymouth, and plundered the Isle of Wight.

The parliament met in October, and gave the regency of the kingdom to the king's three uncles, joining with them some bishops and lay-lords. This mortified the duke of Lancaster, the eldest of the three uncles, a prince of a haughty temper, who had flattered himself with the hopes of being sole regent.

Whilst preparations were making to guard the coasts, and to oppose France, the king of Navarre put Cherbourg into the hands of the English, as the duke of Bretagne soon after delivered up Brest to them. Richard towards the end of his reign, gave up Brest and Cherbourg, for a very inconsiderable sum.

When measures were taking in England to assist the duke of Bretagne, the French court, in order to divert the storm from their own country, encouraged the king of Scotland to make a diversion on his side. He accordingly broke the truce, and took Berwick by surprise; but the earl of Northumberland drew together a body of troops, and
retook

retook it by storm. In this siege, his son Henry Percy signalized himself with such bravery and resolution, that he gained the surname of Hotspur. In the mean time, hostilities continued to be carried on in several places, between the French and English, without any general action, or decisive battle.

Whilst the nation was thus involved abroad, a surprising insurrection broke out, which threatened the whole kingdom with destruction †. The parliament had imposed a poll tax, whereby all persons above fifteen years old, were obliged to pay twelve pence a head, the monks and nuns not excepted. This tax was levied with great moderation at first; but at length being farmed by divers persons, who having advanced such a sum to the king, were to have what they could raise by it, these farmers and their collectors levied the tax with great rigour, in order to enrich themselves. One of the collectors, having demanded of a tyler at Deptford, whose name was Walter, from thence called Wat Tyler, twelve pence for one of his daughters, the father refused to pay it, alleging that she was under the age mentioned in the act. The insolent collector attempting in a way not very modest to satisfy him-

† Year of Christ, 1381.

self of the truth of this, Wat took up a hammer and knocked out his brains. The people took his part, and promised to stand by him. Immediately the populace rose in Kent, and chose Wat Tyler for their leader, and they were soon followed by those of Essex, under the conduct of Jack Straw. To the poll-tax were added other grievances; which grievances being inflamed by seditious spirits, and, as some say, by the monks, who thought themselves aggrieved by the poll-tax, the people rose in great numbers, and Wat soon found himself at the head of an hundred thousand men. With these he marched directly for London, freeing all the prisoners as he went along. This formidable mob proceeded to the utmost extravagancies; they cut off the heads of those lords, gentlemen, judges, and lawyers, they could lay hands on; and bound themselves by oath never to own for king, any whose name should be John; which was occasioned by their hatred to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who at this time was gone to the borders to negotiate a truce with the Scots.

Being come to Black-Heath, Wat Tyler reviewed his army, and continuing his march towards London, took and plundered Southwark. Shortly after, he entered London, the city mob opening the bridge gates to him, in spite of the magistrates. Here this enraged rabble committed the most horrid ravages, burning



*Wat Tyler Stab'd by Walworth Lord
Mayor of London 1381.*



- burning and plundering the houses of the principal judges, lords and principal citizens. Then they seized the tower, and finding there the archbishop of Canterbury, and the high-treasurer, they without any ceremony cut off their heads.

At last it was resolved to offer the rebels a charter confirming the people's liberties, and a general pardon; which those of Essex accepting, returned to their homes. Wat Tyler still continued at the head of thirty, or forty thousand men; and the king coming to Smithfield, sent to desire him to come and confer with him. Wat returned a haughty answer, that he would come when he thought fit. He however, set forward at the head of his troops, and meeting the king in Smithfield, they had a conference together, both on horseback. He made such extravagant demands, that Richard knew not how to answer him; and now and then he would lift his sword, as if he threatened the king. This insolence so enraged Walworth, mayor of London, who was by the king, that he struck the rebel on a sudden, such a furious blow on the head with his sword, as instantly killed him.

The rebels seeing their leader fall, were just upon the point of revenging his death, when the young king, with a courage and presence of mind, that could hardly be expected from his years, cried out aloud to them,



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them, "My friends, will you kill your king? What, though you have lost your leader? I will be your captain. Follow me." With that, turning his horse about, he put himself at their head, and marched to St. George's-fields. The rebels, imagining he had declared for them, readily followed him. When they were come thither, they presently saw a great number of citizens well armed, whom the mayor had raised, marching towards them. And thinking the whole city was coming out against them, they immediately threw down their arms, and the whole multitude was soon dispersed, without the loss of one life, but that of Wat Tyler, their leader.

There were much the same kind of insurrections in Norfolk and Suffolk; but the bishop of Norwich, putting himself at the head of some troops, quickly suppressed them. Those in Essex began also to stir again, but the king marched against them, and defeated them. Great numbers were slain, and others were taken and executed; among whom was Jack Straw their leader. This formidable insurrection did not last above a month.

The Scots by the assistance of France, were preparing to invade England. This alarmed the court, and in a little time, Richard was at the head of a very numerous army, of three hundred thousand men; but instead of pushing the Scots vigorously, he employed himself

himself in ravaging the country about Edinburgh, whilst they slipped by him into Cumberland, and committed terrible devastations. And though he might have intercepted them in their return, he omitted to do it, and returned ingloriously into England.

The remaining part of this reign was nothing but confusion, and a series of arbitrary measures. And in the midst of the general discontent, a rebellion happened in Ireland, the infatuated king went over in person to quell it. He was no sooner gone, but a conspiracy was formed in England to deprive him of his crown. The malecontents, after several consultations, resolved to call in the duke of Hereford, or Lancaster †, who was now in France.

The duke laying hold of this opportunity to try his fortune, got a few ships of the duke of Bretagne, and embarking with the archbishop of Canterbury, and a small number of men, set sail, and hovered some time about the coast of England, to see if the people would declare for him. As soon as it was known he was on the coast, they began to take arms in several places. Upon this the duke landed, in July 1399, near Ravenspur in Yorkshire, where he was presently joined by the earl of Northumberland,

† Son of John of Gaunt.

and Henry Percy his son, with some troops; and the people flocked to him so from all parts, that he in a few days saw himself at the head of sixty thousand men.

The duke of Lancaster first marched to London, where the citizens received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy and affection, as their saviour and deliverer. He then proceeded directly for Bristol, and laying siege to the castle, where the ministers were retired, became master of it in four days.

Whilst these things were doing, the contrary winds hindered the king for some weeks from having any news from England. At last, when he was informed of the duke his cousin's descent, instead of coming over himself with his forces, he sent the earl of Salisbury before him to levy troops; which he did in Wales and Cheshire, to the number of forty thousand. But having continued in arms for some time, and the king not appearing, they dispersed, and returned home.

Soon after the king arrived, and when he found how matters stood, and that all the nobility and the people had declared against him, he withdrew privately from his army, and went and shut himself up in Conway castle, in Wales. The duke of Lancaster being marched to Chester, Richard, in the extremity he was in, thought it best to throw himself upon his enemy's generosity, and

The Battle of Sherburne 1403





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and even offered to resign his crown, provided he would spare his life, and allow him an honourable pension; and set out for London, where he was presently conducted to the Tower; and there Richard delivered up the crown and Scepter, and signed an instrument, confessing himself unworthy and unfit to govern the kingdom any longer*.

The throne being thus vacant, the duke of Lancaster §, as had been agreed, rose up, and claimed the crown; and it was unanimously resolved, September 30. 1399, that he should be proclaimed king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

* King Richard was soon after some how, or other, made away with at Pontecraft castle, in Yorkshire.

§ Surnamed Bolinbroke from the place of his birth.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.